‘Rock ova and lap up’:

A critique of Caribbean theories of national identity through the Jamaican public transport system

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ABSTRACT

Public transport is a major aspect of the social and economic life of Jamaican people. With a population of 2.7 million and only 188 per thousand vehicles, many people have come to rely on public transport. Public travel within the Kingston Metropolitan Region (KMR) in Jamaica is possible via six modes which range from very informal to rigidly regulated. There is the Government owned and operated bus system (JUTC), then four modes (coasters, hackneys, minibuses, and route taxis) which are regulated by the government but operate across formal and informal lines and also the infamous Jamaican "robot" which exists outside of the regulatory framework and protection of the government. One journey may involve use of a single or multiple modes depending on various factors.

This thesis an auto-ethnography of the Jamaican public transport system in the KMR as a landscape in which to critique the major theories of Jamaican/ Caribbean identity and determine whether or not they individually or collectively supply a true picture of our identity. By exploring issues of formality and informality, and morality in mobility this work resonates with traditional anthropology by integrating specific group experiences with larger political, historical and economic structures.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Albert Einstein said, “If we knew what we were doing we wouldn’t call it research.” This paper is certainly the result of research. I entered into this project blindly and had no idea what I was doing for most of it. However, others came alongside me, shared from their expertise, and helped me to research then compile the pages that follow. Some of these have made such a significant contribution to the process that I hasten to mention them by name; my supervisor Benedicta Rousseau, Andrei Bennett, and Graham and Gladys Billing. Additionally I have received tremendous support from friends associated with the Student Life organisation and my family. The help you have given me will not be soon forgotten. Thank you.

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INTRODUCTION

Sunshine deh yah, time fi de busrida fun time deh yah, ah time fi de busrida

[Sunshine is here, it is time for the bus ride. Fun time is here, it is time for the bus ride.]

Now the way things ah go we think we a go thru storm everything settle down and everything get calm

[Based on the ride we thought we went through a storm but finally things calmed]

'till ah one shout out: mi no like how you a gwaan you fi, cover you mouth when you know u ah go yawn

[Until someone shouted "you need to cover your mouth when you yawn"]

Now mi turn round mi head to see weh did a gwaan

[I turned around to see what was happening]

"Liver Liv" Shelly ah trace off "Snaggle head" Tom

[Shelly was cursing Tom]

She say: from mi born mi never upon mi granny farm, neva see a mouth big like any steal hand

[She said, "I haven't seen a mouth that big in all my life, even when I lived on my grandmother's farm"]

(Sparks 2009)

The above is an excerpt from one of the many Jamaican songs set within or written about the Jamaican public transport system. This section of the song depicts the system as one in which cultural mores are reinforced (you need to cover your mouth when you yawn), as well as one of relaxation and enjoyment (fun time is here, it is time for the bus ride). Such mixed expressions of formality and informality are visible throughout representations and experiences of the transport system in Jamaica.

In 2001, the informal economy supplied 43% of Jamaica's GDP (Roble et al. 2006). Roble et al (2006) identify micro and small enterprises (MSEs) as a segment of the economy that is heavily engaged in informal activities, and differs in important ways from their larger, more formal counterparts. As such, they are identified as the informal economy in Jamaica. According to this characterisation,

some activities considered to be a part of the informal economy are higglering[1], partner draws[2], domestic service and hairdressing/ barbering.

Aspects of the transport system may also be included according to that definition. There are varied modes within the transport system, some formally regulated, some partly formal and some outside the law entirely. Uniquely, in the transport system, both the formal and informal modes contain aspects of each other. This system also touches all members of society, some as passengers of vehicles in the system; others as fellow road users sharing the common space. Regardless of how people interact with the public transport system, their attitudes and beliefs about this system can be seen as part of a wider group of ideas about Jamaican identity. Public transport provides a shared space wherein Jamaicans produce meaning. We are able to individually and collectively negotiate matters of our identity. The public nature of the space makes it a particularly good ethnographic example for us to investigate the relationship between the informal economy and national identity.

This thesis critiques the major theories of Jamaican/ Caribbean identity (creolisation theory, plantation society theory and plural society theory) to determine whether or not they individually or collectively provide a representative picture of Jamaican identity. This thesis supports the following ideas that emerge from these theories: that different groups - ethnic or socio-economic - are associated with different economic activities; the formal and informal economies are interdependent; and that dominant western structures subjugate 'indigenous' ones. However, in addition to that, the Jamaican people persist in using modes of transport which are regarded by the authorities as "immoral"/informal within the Kingston Metropolitan Region (KMR) public transport system. They often use a mix of formal and informal modes on a single journey. Therefore when

[1] An itinerant dealer; esp. a carrier or a huckster who buys up poultry and dairy produce, and supplies in exchange for petty commodities from the shops in town. (Usually female) (Dictionary 2015)

[2] Collective saving scheme. Partners contribute a regular sum daily, weekly, fortnightly or monthly basis. Every draw, one member of the partner receives the total amount contributed by the partners over that period (UNCHS [HABITAT] 1987).

considering national identity, there needs to be greater recognition of the agency of the group as seen by individuals' behaviour as public transport users.

This thesis argues these four points by exploring issues of formality and informality in the economy, using the transport system as a suitable example. It explores definitions and characteristics of the informal economy in light of the lived experience of the transport system. To reveal these, the study explores the daily decisions made concerning use of the informal transport system. It identifies how these choices are along a range of esteemed and despised qualities. Negotiation of and along this range is morality. The study examines definitions of morality and explores the role morality plays in economic activities and mobility. Through an examination of the Jamaican transport system as a microcosm of the informal economy, this research critiques the common themes in major identity theories and reveals the agency of the Jamaican people as we forge a national identity amidst the economic and political realities that have emerged since independence in 1961.

The Jamaican Transport System (an introduction)

I have been fascinated with public transport in Jamaica for many years. The public transport system encompasses all the vehicles, the routes, the operators, and the public perceptions of these. This study focuses on the system across the Kingston Metropolitan Region (KMR) and St. Catherine (within which the largest English speaking community in the Caribbean, Portmore, is found). This elaborate network, which spans three administrative regions has much to reveal about the identity of the Jamaican people. The public transport system, with both formal and informal parts, provides multiple journeys daily while it reveals aspects of our national identity.

Origin of the system

Public transport in Jamaica began with the horse and buggy. Late in the 1800s, people paid for group travel in carriages drawn by as many as six horses. Popular journalist, Barbara Gloudon, described the buggy as, "light little vehicles with a kind of rumble seat at the back" (Gloudon 1988, 8).

After the horse and buggy came two different modes of transport; electric tramcars and steam rails. The Jamaica Railway Company opened a steam railroad in 1843 between Kingston and Spanish Town (capital of St. Catherine). Trains circled the central area and reached Rae Town on the east, May Pen cemetery on the west, and Constant Spring, 6 miles north of the city. Snippets of the early stages of this can still be seen throughout the city. The West India Electric Company ran tramcars along electric lines around Kingston from December 1897. Kingston's first electric line ran from the tram depot on Orange Street to the foot of King Street. The tram rails, buried beneath layers of asphalt along these routes, occasionally resurface (Gloudon 1988).

After World War II the transport system picked up a new mode which Jamaicans today name robots. War returnees used private cars as taxis to provide transport for the public. They quickly became popular for their ability and propensity to interlope on the licensed operators by running ahead to secure waiting passengers. The government attempted to remove robots from Jamaica's streets when the Jamaica Omnibus Service (JOS) was established in the 1950s. However, they reappeared as the quality of public bus services slipped during the 1970s (Cervero 2000).

In 1953 the international transport company Omnibus, established the JOS. It provided the first organized, centrally managed bus and streetcar services in the Kingston region. By the late-1960s, passenger support declined prompting service cuts, which further reduced ridership. The Public Passenger Transport Board (PPTB) denied the company fare increases. This resulted in the breakdown of service quality and bus shortages. By 1974, the overcrowding and unreliability of the service reached disastrous proportions. In response, the central government took a controlling interest in the company. Anderson and Bailey (1987) report that this did little to stem the decline. The number of passengers per bus per mile fell. Less than 50% of the buses were operable, and low worker productivity and morale led to frequent labour disputes and service shut-downs.

The gaps created by these failings were filled by informal transport operators. As public bus services slipped during the 1970s, robot taxis returned. They concentrated on the peak-hour, high-demand corridors, leaving the higher-

cost off-peak and marginal territories to the public operator. The re-entry of robots produced a dual transport system. Legal, owner-operated minibuses had been operating in Jamaica since the mid-1950s, organized with JOS's assent as associated services that were meant to complement and feed into JOS's public bus routes. Robots, on the other hand, were never formally organized, licensed to carry passengers, insured, or fitness certified. What resulted was head-to-head competition between the robots, JOS, and legitimate minibuses (Cervero and Golub 2007).

Forms now operating

Data from the Ministry of Transport and Works for the period 2008-2009 indicate that registered vehicles in Jamaica are in a ratio of 188 to every 1000 people (Hayles 2009). The bulk of the Jamaica's 2.7 million people, without their own vehicle or access to a private vehicle, depend on the country's public transport system. In the Transport Authority annual report, the number of road licences issued during the 2014-2015 fiscal year was fifty-one thousand, six hundred and twenty eight (51, 628). Of these, Public Passenger Vehicle Road Licences account for 19,430 or 38% (Transport Authority 2015).

In 1987 the Transport Authority Act was passed, and a statutory body was established by the Jamaican Government, to regulate and monitor public transportation on the island. Over the next ten years changes were made to vehicle, driver and license allowances. During that time, the public transport system evolved into its present form. By the early 2000s there were six distinct forms of public transport in the KMR and St. Catherine. These still exist today. They are; JUTC (chi-chi) buses, route taxis, robots, hackneys, minibuses and coasters. See a selection of the current laws below:

> (1) An Inspector or a Constable may at any time (a) stop and inspect any public passenger vehicle to ensure compliance with the terms of the road licence and any relevant road traffic enactments; (b) stop and inspect any vehicle which he reasonably suspects is operating as a public passenger vehicle contrary to relevant road traffic enactments; (c) monitor the frequency of public passenger vehicles on any route; (d) carry out an inspection of conductors and drivers of public passenger vehicles and the licences held by these conductors and drivers; (e) carry out such powers or duties in relation to relevant road traffic enactments as may be prescribed. (2) (a) An Inspector or a Constable shall have

> power- to seize any vehicle which: (i) is licensed as a stage carriage, express carriage or route taxi and is not being operated on the route for which it is licensed to operate; (ii) is licensed as a hackney carriage and is being operated as a stage carriage, route taxi or express carriage; (iii) is licensed as a contract carriage and is being operated as a stage carriage, route taxi or express carriage; (iv) is licensed as an express carriage and is being operated as a stage carriage or route taxi; or (v) is being operated or used as a public passenger vehicle without a licence issued for such operation or use; (b) to take or cause to be taken to the nearest police station or to the nearest convenient place authorized by the police pursuant to subsection. (Jamaica Transport Authority 2006)

JUTC (chi-chi) bus

Photograph 1: Picture of a JUTC bus taken by Doniq Steadman (2016)

In 1995, the Jamaican government decided to restructure the sector and make its own investment in the infrastructure required to bring order to public transportation. The Metropolitan Management Transport Holdings (MMTH) was established in 1995 to develop the infrastructure, and the Jamaica Urban Transit Company (JUTC) was established in 1998 to provide a state owned, centrally managed state-of-the-art public bus service. The JUTC service was designed to be modern, safe, efficient, reliable and cost effective for commuters (Cervero 2000).

JUTC has 460 buses in its fleet as of March 2016 (Jamaica Urban Transit Company 2014). Buses seat 45 and have the capacity for 55 to stand. Passengers pay $120 JMD/$1.30 NZD for a single trip. JUTC buses are referred to by the Jamaican people as chi-chi buses. There are two contending views about the origin of this name. The first is that the sound the doors make when they open and shut is similar to the sound the chi-chi bug makes. The second is that the original JUTC buses required passengers to enter through the rear. Jamaicans called

homosexual men chi-chi men and so ascribed that name to the buses since we enter from the back. All buses in the fleet are yellow with a painting of the Jamaican flag at the front, along with an electronic display of the route.

The JUTC is classified as the most formal and structured of all modes of public transport in Jamaica. The buses have posters that remind passengers of proper conduct (such as no eating or drinking on buses) and there are officials from the transport authority that do spot checks to ensure passengers are compliant. The bus driver is responsible for his bus during his shift and is expected to maintain the formality of the system while transporting people safely.

The Route Taxi

Photograph 2: Picture of a Route Taxi taken by Doniq Steadman (2016)

Route Taxis are as common on Jamaican roads as noodles in a university student's kitchen. Route taxis are shared taxis that operate along short, established routes. In May 2015, the Transport Authority opened more routes, bringing the number to 452 routes across the island (Jamaica Observer 2015). The route taxis signage is regulated thus: (1) route taxis should have red PPV licence plates, (2) have 'Route Taxi' written on the doors, (3) that the particulars relating to the route are legibly printed on the outside of the front doors, (4) that a Transport Authority sticker is affixed to the windshield, and (5) that a Transport Authority driver identification is present within the vehicle (Jamaica Transport Authority 2013). Taxi passengers do not always check for these but are at liberty to do so as a reassurance of their own safety. Despite these regulations, it is common to find route taxis with missing door handles or missing window panes.

The driver advertises the route, by shouting it in a repetitive and melodic way, for example: “Town, Town, Molyenes, Waltham, Town”. There are formal stopping areas along the route for these taxis. However, passengers do not have to wait until getting to a designated area to disembark. In practice, route taxis stop at intersections, in bus areas, along foot paths and anywhere else convenient to the passenger. The standard fare is also $120 JMD. There is little negotiation of fares and they are collected close to the departure point. It is poor etiquette to give drivers large sums of money and expect them to provide the change. On a Monday morning, asking a driver to take $120 JMD/ $1.30 NZD from $500 JMD/5.30 NZD or $1000 JMD/$11 NZD is one of the most disrespectful things a patron can do. Fares may be discounted for friends, family members, and family members of colleagues.

Regular passengers forge loyal and trusting relationships with drivers. The driver expects the passenger to take his vehicle if present and the passenger expects that space will be made in the vehicle for him or her. This relationship even means that in on occasion the passenger can ask the driver to detour from his route or the driver can detour for personal reasons with the passenger’s understanding.

The Robot

Photograph 3: Picture of a Robot taken by Doniq Steadman (2016)

Robot taxis are the illegal counterparts to route taxis. They are privately registered but used to provide public transport. They do not have red license plates with numbers and the letters PP or PA, as required for all public passenger vehicles. Nor do the drivers have the special drivers’ licenses or pay regulatory

fees to the government. There are severe penalties for drivers and passengers if they are caught by authorities. Robots are usually five seat sedans and sometimes seven seat minivans. These vehicles are usually more run down than the other modes of public transport. They are generally unsafe as vehicles for public (or private) use, often missing windows and handles, and having terrible alignment, balance and breaking ability.

Like route taxis, Robots usually have set routes. They tend to travel from one terminus to another collecting as many passengers as possible. Drivers begin by announcing in a sing-song voice the route they travel, and leave after gathering a minimum of four passengers. It is also possible to know where they are headed based on where they are parked. It is taboo for drivers not known along a route by other drivers to travel it. There are three major hubs in the Kingston metropolitan region (KMR); Halfway Tree, Down Town and Cross Roads. Robot taxis set down patrons anywhere along the route, there is no need to wait for a designated stop, all one has to do is indicate to the driver that you would like to stop. Common phrases used are; "one stop", "bus stop" or "give me a stop right here driver". As with the route taxi, it is common for drivers and passengers to form loyal relationships. Both driver and passenger may find themselves keeping the same times; when this happens it becomes expected that they travel together. It is an insult to not travel with your driver or one of your common drivers if they are available.

Robot taxi fares are on par with route taxis. A standard journey (from one terminal to another) costs about $120 JMD. Passengers often try to negotiate prices if they get into a taxi very close to the next stop. This is futile however as drivers always demand full payment. Fares are collected close to the end of the route unless the passenger disembarks before the final stop. In that case they pay as they exit the vehicle or just before. As with all other modes of informal transport, robot taxis travel fast. They skilfully slip in and out of lines of traffic, and take risks not taken by other drivers. These risks are considered acceptable as the robots move passengers to their destinations quickly. Despite the risks, users consider robots equal to other types of taxi as they pay the same fare, are driven the same routes and forge similar relationships with the drivers.

Hackney

Photograph 4: Picture of a Hackney taken by Doniq Steadman (2016)

The hackneys form another part of the informal public transport system. These are taxis chartered to take passengers from point A to point B. The vehicles can be regular five seat sedans or as large as 45 seat coasters. Smaller vehicles can be chartered at the moment of need while larger ones need to be booked ahead of time. Hackneys usually belong to larger companies and are controlled from a base. Drivers are in constant communication with both the base and each other via radio calls. Hackney drivers are flexible, they drive as slowly or as fast as the passengers' desire. Passengers call the head office to request a vehicle, state the number of people and destination, and leave a contact number. If the driver gets to the spot but cannot find the passengers then this number is used. The fare is negotiated before the initial phone call ends. Drivers then collect this money at the end of the journey. It is possible to request a driver to return at a specific time for pick-up. The Hackney is the most expensive of all the modes. The main supporters are middleclass passengers. They have company cards for taxi services and may save the company numbers or the driver's personal numbers on their cell phones for easy access. Arguments about which company is better are frequent.

The Minibus

Photograph 5: Picture of a Minibus taken by Doniq Steadman (2016)

Minibuses have a sliding door to the left, two doors to the front and a back door. All entrances are used by passengers. They are usually outfitted to seat 15 but a skilled "loader man" may manage to fit in as many as 30 people. Minibuses tend to be sturdier than taxis but the occasional broken down bus (hiding from the authorities) can be found. Minibuses use music to attract customer support. It is common to find buses with no trunk space but massive speakers installed. In March 2014, authorities dictated that all minibuses in the KMR be painted yellow (the colour of JUTC buses) (Jamaica Observer 2014).

Minibuses traffic large numbers of people along secondary corridors, away from the formal JUTC routes. A minibus may also further detour from these "back roads" at any time in case of an emergency. An emergency may be the threat of a transport authority check, an accident, or some other form of delay. Vehicles move fast and recklessly; they bob and weave in and out of traffic seeking business. As with other informal modes, stops are not official. However, there are popular stops that both driver and passengers know. A passenger may ask for a stop outside of a regular spot but stopping is not guaranteed.

Coaster

Photograph 6: Picture of a Coaster taken by Doniq Steadman (2016)

Coasters have a more powerful presence on Jamaican streets than taxis or minibuses due to their 30 seat size. Those within the KMR now also sport the JUTC yellow paint in compliance with the recent reforms. Coasters are the perfect combination of the smaller taxis and the larger JUTC buses. They move people with the speed and agility of a taxi or minibus, picking up passengers from anywhere along the journey, driving them rapidly and recklessly along demarcated bus lanes and stopping at formal bus stops. They compete fiercely with each other to reach the next stop first. Picking up passengers can happen anywhere along the major routes. Dropping off however is mostly restricted to areas designated by the transport authority. Coaster routes are very similar to the routes of the formal transport system.

Some coasters are known as music buses or ‘shotta’ (excitement) buses and are notorious for clandestine activities in-transit behind dark tinted windows. The buses cater to risqué high school and university students who seek to relax and have fun on the way to or from school. The tinted windows have recently been outlawed but these buses still operate and patrons support them according to the level of fun they promise and deliver. Most if not all coasters have names. These names may be as short and simple as “princess” or may be phrases such as “Rise to the occasion”(Jamaica Observer 2007).

In a tourist guide to Jamaica, authors Thomas, Vaitilingham and Brown (2003) describe the general fares, driving styles, number of passengers carried, routes, stops and other useful information. They indicate that every town has a terminus of sorts which is usually in close proximity to the farmers' market. Passengers are seated closely together and get on the buses by indicating to drivers as the buses pass on the roadway. To get off (whether there is a bus stop or not) one calls out some derivative of "one stop". Bus routes can be identified on the buses themselves. They are often printed near the unique bus name that each bus has boldly printed on its body.

While loading it is imperative that the passenger not sit in the back if he/she will disembark early. This will only lead to chaos as other people are forced to unload and reload. There are designated seats in coasters. The seat closest to the driver is for his wife, girlfriend or the "prettiest woman" on the drive. This seat is referred to as the "matey" seat. It has been a source of contention for many. The conductor or loader may choose an individual to seat there if the special mate of the driver is not present.

Personnel Involved

Several personnel involved in the transport system have already been mentioned. Within the system there are three classes of workers. These are; drivers, conductors and loadermen.

Drivers of all modes (except robots) also have certain rules to follow. The Jamaica transport authority stipulates that drivers must wear a Transport Authority Identification Badge and the driver of every public passenger vehicle should be in possession of a PPV Driver's Licence (Jamaica Transport Authority 2013).

Although the job is highly competitive, there is a strong sense of amity and solidarity among taxi drivers. This is reinforced by the sixteen route taxi associations across the island. The government, taxi drivers and general public supported and encouraged taxi drivers to form associations between 2003 and 2004, when the legitimate operators felt that their good name and hard work was being discredited by the robots. The Transport Authority made it mandatory for every route taxi operator to be a member of an approved taxi association in order

to have their route licence renewed, and also mandatory to apply for a new licence made official by a Memorandum of Understanding (Campbell 2006). Each association focusses on different values, and drivers apply for membership based on those values. For example, the Route Taxi Association of Jamaica (RTAJ) is one such body. Their mission is "developing products and services that enhance the profitability and efficiency of their operators" (Campbell 2006, 2).

Conductors (ducta) are another class of workers within the public transport system. The conductor is responsible for helping the driver manage the passengers through the journey. He spots prospective passengers from afar and indicates to the driver where to pick them up. When minibuses and taxis compete for the same passenger, the conductor is there to entice the passenger aboard while the taxi driver does not have such assistance. He then ensures the comfort of the passenger.

If disembarking passengers are seated too far away from the driver to signal him, or if the bus is too noisy, then the conductor will relay the message to the driver. They often have knocking sounds for this purpose. The conductor is also responsible for collecting the fares. Just as with taxis, passengers pay just before disembarking unless the bus is close to the end of the route in which case all fares are collected. Drivers and conductors can interchange roles. Bus fares are different for children and adults. Conductors determine how much an individual should pay and make concessions for family and friends.

Job descriptions for conductors of coasters are similar to those of conductors of minibuses. Additionally they help the drivers to manoeuvre in traffic, guiding them into tight spaces. They leave the buses to direct then jump back on. They may also be called on at times to run along queues of vehicles to investigate the cause and extent of traffic build-ups and decide whether or not to detour. JUTC initially employed conductors, but have since replaced their service with an automated ticketing system.

There is also another category of worker in this system; the "Loaderman" Although there are loaders of taxis and minibuses, loaders are more common on coasters, mostly working at bus terminals. Loadermen are not contracted but appear at the transport centres and independently direct passengers into vehicles.

Loaders are paid once the bus is full. Loaders may be creative, drawing passengers with music and original songs, like the pied piper, or may be physical pulling (women especially) by the hands and encouraging them to take the bus. Coasters never begin their journeys until the waiting passengers begin to complain that the workers are greedy. Although buses have 30 seats, twice that number can be squeezed in. Loaders commonly make statements such as "rock ova" (move over) and "lap up" (forcing people to sit in each other's laps).

Loadermen have a bad reputation. *The Gleaner* newspaper went to the Half-Way Tree transportation centre in St Andrew to investigate them and to seek their views on this. Tim (name changed) shared that most of them were raised on the streets from a young age and after long periods of unemployment, decided to use their street skills to survive. The article revealed that others claimed to have graduated from high school but could not find employment. The men protested against being labelled criminals and extortionists, adamant that they were lawful citizens earning an honest living (Newell 2015).

The contrasting experiences of the workers within the system help us to understand the distinction between informal and formal transport options. Differences are clear between them in terms of salary, taxes and contracting arrangements, and in terms of the timetables and routes followed by each mode of transport. JUTC bus drivers and hackney drivers are formally contracted, tax paying, salary earners, with established timetables. There is a degree of security and stability to their positions. Route taxi drivers, minibus drivers, and coaster drivers are usually self-employed or have verbal contracts with the owners of the vehicles. Records of the accounts are not well kept. This makes paying wages and taxes difficult. An article cited later in this thesis reveals that the arrangement between owner and operator is often that a set sum be earned each day/week for the owner and that any excess over that is payment for the operator. Additionally, as the managers of the vehicles, the drivers determine the conductors' salaries. These fluctuate just as the drivers' salaries fluctuate. Robot driving is totally illegal. The drivers tend to not have employment contract of any kind and therefore do not pay taxes. Loadermen are considered to be extortionists by some and as being at the mercy of taxi and bus drivers by others. Each terminus seems to operate with different rules. A loader who knows that the driver will pay him

poorly, will simply direct passengers to other vehicles. However, the push-back is that they have no security of employment. These very contrasting economic practices are what have led to some modes of transport including the JUTC and hackneys being considered formal while other modes (robots, route taxis, minibuses and coasters) are considered informal.

Later chapters will explore anthropological understandings of informal and formal economic activities. Before that I will discuss the technicalities, advantages and limitations of the methodology used in this research. After which I present summaries of the main theories of Jamaican national identity; paying special attention to how each includes the informal economy in its model. After exploring the anthropological theories on the informal economy I will reveal how the transport system is experienced daily. That will indicate challenges to the strict categorising of modes as formal and informal. The chapter after will combined theories of mobility, landscape and morality to make sense of the obscurity. The thesis will end with a close inspection of the points about the informal economy that emerge from theories of national identity in light of the experiences of the transport system.

METHODOLOGY

As a wide-eyed, budding anthropologist in undergrad I was introduced to the common methodologies of the discipline and their theoretical foundations. I dreamed of the day I would travel to a far-away land and study 'uncivilized natives' like the founders of the discipline did. In my vocabulary, anthropology became synonymous with ethnography. Nothing seemed more worthwhile than observing, describing and analysing a foreign cultural group. However, life experiences have redirected my expectations. Although I travelled to a far-away land, I did so as a student. Whereupon I found my heart was for the study of my own people; not for any of the other rich cultural groups surrounding me. With the limitations imposed by time and distance, I decided to rely on my own recollection of facts instead of engaging in traditional participant observation. I supplemented my memory with e-mail interviews of people in my pre-existing networks as well as engaged with literature on the topic. Ellis et al. (2011) identify this research technique as autoethnography.

Autoethnography

According to Ellis et al. (2011) autoethnography is the process and product of retrospectively and selectively describing and analysing significant events that stem from, or are made possible by being part of a culture and/or possessing a particular cultural identity. The word autoethnography, when separated into prefix, root and suffix, defines itself as; a story a person writes about themselves (autos), embedded in a story of a number of people living together (ethnos), that is a descriptive science- descriptive and analytic (grəphi). The term autoethnography has been in circulation since the latter quarter of the last century.

In the early years of its inception, autoethnography was described as members of a culture giving interpretations about that culture. They contended that every ethnography is self-ethnography or autoethnography since it reveals personal investments, interpretations, and analyses. However, nowadays autoethnography is understood to be the work of anthropologists who "conduct and write ethnographies of their 'own people' " and who choose a "field location" tied to one of their identities or group memberships (Heider 1975 , Goldschmidt

1977). In addition, the researcher does not feign separation from the subject of study but retroactively and reflexively considers their own influence on the study and vice versa.

Justification

Autoethnography emerged as a research technique as the result of three concerns and considerations about qualitative research. These were: (1) social scientists realised that 'scientific knowledge' has its limitations. Researchers began to also appreciate the importance of; personal narrative, the literary and aesthetic dimensions of storytelling, and their emotional and physical memories in their writings. (2) Researchers became progressively concerned with the politics and ethics of research practices and representations. (3) Identity politics became more and more important over time.

Ellis and Bochner (2000) explain that social scientists seek ways to produce meaningful, accessible, and evocative research rooted in personal experiences. Anthropologists and other social scientists are aware of the many ways researchers impact their research. Researchers influence their work by deciding what topics to study, what organisations they are applying to for grants (considering expectations), what research methodologies to use, and what words to use to represent findings as well as other issues of presentation. With awareness of their own impacts on research, they now realise how futile it is to attempt 'scientific' methods of enquiry. Instead, qualitative researchers are gradually focusing on forms of representation that deepen our capacity to empathise with people who are different. This takes precedence over findings being countable and reproducible.

The methodology of early anthropology is often now an embarrassment to the discipline's ethics and sense of political correctness. Traditional ethnographers observed and often participated in the lives and activities of the community, recorded things observed, and then published their representation of the group. The group didn't usually get to see how they were represented. Researchers now understand that these practices were unethical and incomplete. They relied on power differentials to research vulnerable others. They usually omitted the effect

of the ethnographer's presence on the studied group, as well as the ethnographer's decisions in recording and representing them.

Clifford et al. (1986) came to this very conclusion. They realised that the famous ethnographers, such as Margaret Mead and Bronislaw Malinowski, hardly reflected on their own writing styles and representations but rather perpetuated the claim of transparency in representation and immediacy of experience. Writing, Clifford says, was reduced to method: Anthropologists focused on keeping good field notes, making accurate maps, and "writing up" results. Clifford contends that traditional ethnographers;

> … see culture as composed of seriously contested codes and representations; they assume that the poetic and the political are inseparable, that science is in, not above, historical and linguistic processes. They assume that academic and literary genres interpenetrate and that the writing of cultural descriptions is properly experimental and ethical. Their focus on text making and rhetoric serves to highlight the constructed, artificial nature of cultural accounts. It undermines overly transparent modes of authority, and it draws attention to the historical predicament of ethnography, the fact that it is always caught up in the invention, not the representation, of cultures (Wagner 1975). As will soon be apparent, the range of issues raised is not literary in any traditional sense. Most of the essays, while focusing on textual practices, reach beyond texts to contexts of power, resistance, institutional constraint, and innovation (Clifford 1986, 2).

During the latter part of the 20th century research became increasingly reflexive, as researchers grappled with the problem of identifying what aspects of the self are the most important filters through which one perceives the world (Ellis and Bochner 2000). 'Identity politics', the political stands of different interest groups and the arguments between these groups, naturally spilled over into social research. For example, concerns were expressed about the privileging of prose and the bias against other kinds of aesthetic texts, including poetry. Not everyone has the time or technique, the financial, physical, or social resources to write (white, male, upper-class) ethnographies. These three concerns influenced a change in ethnography.

Through her lived experience, and analysis of how that experience shaped her identity, Ettorre (2005) provides an example of how autoethnography is completely different from the original ethnographies which 'came, saw and conquered'. It produced an ethnography that was more self-aware, literary,

aesthetic, and ethical, all while maintaining the traditional aims of anthropology which are descriptive and analytical.

Data Collection and Analysis

The anxiety of not being sure my research was theoretically sound waned when I learnt about autoethnography as an established methodology. I then realised that the ways I collected my data were three of nine approaches to autoethnography as itemised by Ellis et al. (2011). To gather the data I used in my research I engaged in; (1) narrative ethnography, (2) layered accounts, and (3) interactive interviews.

Tedlock (1991) champions 'Narrative Ethnography' as the ideal way of telling the story of a group. She believes it represents the shift in anthropology from participant observation to include the observation of self-participation. She maintains that in this approach, "fieldwork is neither a rite of passage nor a route to an academic union card. Instead it is the lived-reality of the field experience as the centre of intellectual and emotional missions as human beings" (Tedlock 1991, 70-71). Researchers reflect on their own interactions in the group, often having originally belonged to the group. Narrative ethnography is the term given to stories that incorporate the ethnographer's experiences into the ethnographic descriptions and analyses of others. The person's voice is very evident and is reflected on just as other parts of the story are. In collecting of data for this study, I relied heavily on my experiences in the past. I highlighted instances of travel that I considered significant to me, as well as recounted seemingly mundane events.

I used 'Layered Accounts' to analyse the data collected. In an autoethnography of experiences with her grandmother, Rambo (2005) utilises this form of analysis. She explains that by combining her personal reflections with theory, she unveiled how her identity has emerged and continues to emerge. (Rambo 2005). This is what I attempt to do in this study. I seek to combine my personal reflections of experiences in the transport system with three major theories of Jamaican identity to illustrate how our identity has been negotiated. 'Layered accounts' is a procedural form of research. It involves simultaneous data

collection and analysis. While I recorded memories, I investigated Caribbean writings on identity. As I made significant breakthroughs with the literary analysis I searched through my memories to confirm or contradict potential findings. The reverse was also true. I would also at times remember a significant event, attempt an etic (outsiders) analysis then consult the available literature to see if the analysis of the event matched current theories. This layered construction, of data collection and analysis, has built a view of the Jamaican identity that I believe holds true for me as a member of the in-group.

My data collection was not just limited to retrospective descriptions and past published works, I also engaged in 'Interactive Interviews.' Ellis (2011) identifies interactive interviews as another characteristic of autoethnography. Interactive interviews are collaborative interviews in which the researcher and the participant together probe a particular issue. These interviews seek to attain an intimate understanding of people's experiences with emotionally charged topics. Interactive interviews focus both on the stories being told and how the stories are told. I approached twenty-two friends and family in total and conducted interviews via email. I initially asked them about their experiences with the transport system and their beliefs and attitudes about each mode of transport within the system. I returned to the eight who responded to clarify some of their answers and asked further questions that emerged as the research progressed.

Limitations

Autoethnography claims to be reflexive therefore it needs to probe its own methodology. After considering this approach to research I realised that the following limitations needed to be worked through, or at least recognised: (1) that autoethnography straddles art and science while not fitting well in either, (2) there are issues with reliability, (3) there are issues with validity, (4) there are problems with generalisability and (5) there is a possibility of incriminating others in my work.

Autoethnography is the first methodology of anthropology to seek the perfect balance between art and science. Autoethnography ambitiously pursues the art of autobiographical writing and the precision of scientific work.

Richardson (2000, 254) suggests that autoethnography should be evaluated according to; substantive contribution, aesthetic merit, reflexivity, the impact the narrative causes the reader, and how much the narrative expresses a reality. I am aware that this paper has paid more attention to the representation of facts than to presentation of an emotive prose that draws the reader into my subjective world. I am hopeful that the descriptive words in my personal reflections and respondents' reflections reach towards that 'aesthetic' merit that Richardson calls for.

The concept of reliability concerns the statistical ideal that a similar style of data collection and analysis will reveal similar results (Bernard 2011). In anthropology, this might mean a restudy of the same ethnographic situation by a different ethnographer or a second application of a data collection method by the same researcher. Considering the layered approach to data collection and analysis that I employed, it does seem on the outset to be less reliable. This is especially true with regard to the heavy dependence on my memory which could fail (Bernard and Gravlee 2000). I have tried to the best of my ability to remain true to description and scientific analysis. However, am aware of this failing. Regardless, I am hopeful that a similar study would reproduce the same results. One particular issue with reliability was recognising notable features that I had hitherto considered unremarkable. As a typical Jamaican public transport user, I considered monetary exchange, seating, bus names and bus routes as unremarkable aspects of my travels. It was quite difficult to reimagine routine actions as cultural facts to be studied anthropologically. The memories would not be reproducible outside the prompts of an anthropological framework.

Validity is a test of how accurate a representation is of the experiences it aims to reproduce. It checks how familiar the account would appear to those it claims to represent. Bernard and Gravlee (2011). Validity is of the most concern in autoethnographies because readers of the findings enter into the subjective world of the storyteller. As I paint a picture of the transport system, using my memories and the memories of others, I project a subjective image of reality. The transport system, socio-political structures and even the literature on identity are all filtered through my perceptions. I validate the study by ensuring the general picture painted is clear and rational and rely on others to confirm the descriptions as mirroring reality. I also supplement my view of the system with the subjective

realities that others shared in interviews. Together these should represent the lived experience of other users of the informal transport system.

This closely links with issues of ‘generalisability’. The idea under consideration here is whether or not others can identify with the story I present. It means that any other user of the Jamaica public transport system would be able to reach the same conclusions I did based on their experiences. It also means that systems other than the transport system will encapsulate the same findings.

The final major issue I have to deliberate on is the possibility of incriminating others in my account. The informal public transport system has within it legal and illegal practices. The greatest concern is the focus I make on the illegal public passenger vehicles in my report. I have to take care to not identify respondents who have used illegal carriers or partaken in any other illegal aspects of the general public transport system.

Conclusion

This is an autoethnography. As such it is both a subjective and retrospective description of the public transport system, as well as an analysis of theories of identity according to that description. I accomplished this through narrative ethnography, layered accounts and interactive interviews. This thesis attempts to link personal experience with cultural experience while introducing a recent research method in Jamaican anthropological scholarship. Individually and collectively these techniques bring limitations to the study. Being mindful of these, this thesis does not claim irrefutable truth, but leaves the way open for a continuing discussion.

Caribbean philosopher and social scientist, Brian Meeks, perfectly exemplifies how academia grapples with the sense of identity negotiated among Caribbean people. In his book; *Envisioning Caribbean Futures: Jamaican Perspectives*, he attempts to underline the major aspects of our identity in the past and looks toward how our identity will be articulated in the twenty-first century (Meeks 2007). Meeks engages with several 'classical' and new understandings of Caribbean identity, showing the struggle that Caribbean researchers have had with articulating a Caribbean identity that links to academic understandings. While Meek's work is less anthropological and more in line with political science, his ideas and arguments help us to appreciate the complex nature of Caribbean identity. The work demonstrates how the great minds of our region struggle to understand and express our identity.

Three major theories have been accepted and continue to contend to be the leading theory on identity. These are the Creolisation theory, the Plantation Society theory and the Plural Society theory. Running through each of these is an explanation of the informal economy; its origin and nature. Therefore, an overview of each is necessary to identify the common understandings of the informal economy and compare them with the lived reality of informality in the public transport system.

Creolisation Theory

The Creolisation Theory is one of the three leading theories that explain national identity. People who subscribe to this theory believe that many social and cultural phenomena can be explained by the hybridisation that occurred on slave plantations and continued after slavery ceased (Stewart 2010). According to Stewart (2010) creolisation originally meant the creation of a culture in the New World derived from the Old World. The concept of creolisation evolved to describe a unique Caribbean identity of cultural syncretism; a blend of African, European and Asian cultural components creating a new identity. French-Caribbean philosophers like Raphaël Confiant, Patrick Chamoiseau, and Jean Bernabé introduced the concept of creolisation based on the obvious linguistic

hybridisation that occurred in the region. Concurrently, historian [Edward] Kamau Brathwaite (1971) presented a similar argument in his history of Jamaica. He proposed that in the Caribbean, researchers had to abandon the idea that a single culture, with a single point of origin, could be distinguished. He identified linguistic "cross fertilisation", ethnic mixing and cultural intersections as the core of the Caribbean experience (Brathwaite 1971).

Edouard Glissant's, theory of 'Antillainité' (Caribbeanness) supports Brathwaite's writings. Antillainité asserts a West Indian culture as a single and separate global culture. To Glissant, African roots were too distant to identify with. He believed that Caribbean identities corresponded with the distinct histories and influences that have shaped these societies (Britton 1999). His ideas opposed universalism based on race. (Caribbean culture is not a direct transplant of West African culture). So, Glissant understood Caribbean identity as a blended construct; open, dynamic, and multidimensional. This theory of Caribbeanness strongly influenced what we know today as the Creolisation theory.

Katherine Browne (2004) is one contemporary author who has rooted her research in the Creolisation theory. She has explored the various theories of Caribbean identity which emerged between emancipation and independence across the Caribbean. Her main argument is that, although Martinique has undergone assimilation to France, the informal economy indicates the persistence of creolisation. Browne (2004) draws on the history, culture and economy of Martinique to prove that creole values shape economic behaviour in the French Caribbean and the wider Caribbean. The practices aligned with these creole values are labelled informal economic activities.

Browne (2004) contends that African- descended people in the Caribbean who attempt either to fully reject or to wholly imitate European values and practices are self-defeating. She states that in contrast with other geographical areas colonised by European powers, African-descended peoples in Caribbean societies could not draw on precolonial identities and social formations. Instead, their roots begin on Caribbean sugar plantations. This is primarily the result of 'seasoning'. Seasoning was the process of stripping away African identity and replacing it with that of a slave. It included separating families, prohibiting

languages and religions, renaming people, and teaching a new language. Afro-Caribbean peoples, therefore, have no "indigenous" past to which they can symbolically return.

The Creolisation theory also provides an explanation for the informal economy. Wilson (1969) proposes that two coexisting systems of status operate among Afro-Caribbean peoples of the Caribbean. These systems are; 'respectability' and 'reputation'. The European prestige system of 'respectability', he argues, stresses clean, responsible living, hard work, and loyalty to family and church. In contrast, the creole based prestige system called 'reputation', promotes status through such means as public performance and verbal and sexual prowess. Wilson's 'reputation' parallels Browne's findings of creole economics. Browne (2004) sees creole economics as the system of local economic strategies which are not regulated within the legal framework of the French state and survive despite it. Engaging in legal economics will produce 'respectability'; engaging in creole economics will help develop a 'reputation'. 'Respectability' is associated with the formal economy; 'reputation' is associated with the informal economy.

The stories of Anansi the Spider provide an excellent example of the value of reputation in Jamaican society. In Anansi stories the small spider turns the tables on his powerful enemies through cunning and trickery. The skills Anansi used to thwart his rivals were called on in different times of trouble. During slavery times (1500s-1800s) slaves feigned ignorance and participated in other means of passive resistance, much as Anansi would do. During the period of independence (1960s), Anansi the trickster folk hero, again became a medium through which greed and discrimination were criticized, and acts of defiance and law breaking against 'backra' (those in power) were 'legitimised' (Marshall 2009). Here, competing moralities tied to different economic forms are foundational to Jamaican identity. This foreshadows issues of morality in economics which will be explored in later chapters.

Plantation Society Theory

Another major theory of Caribbean identity is the plantation society/ economy model that was developed by Lloyd Best and Kari Levitt ([1969] 2009)

during the period of decolonisation in the Caribbean, and continued with current researchers such as Barry Higman (1979, 1989) and George Beckford (1999). The Plantation Society theory was borne out of Best and Levitt's initial Plantation Economy Model (PEM). This theory postulated that the economic structures of the Caribbean in the 1960s mirrored the plantation system during colonialism. Some characteristics of this were: a three-tiered socio-economic class structure, heavy dependence on the products of the plantation for engagement with the global market, and a subservient position in global economics. The Plantation Society theory remains as relevant in the age of globalisation and neo-liberalism as it was during the decolonisation era when it was invented (Girvan 2009).

The Plantation Society theory expands on the economic model, postulating that the social and political structures of a plantation also continued beyond emancipation (1838) and independence (1961). One phenomenon which continues is the tension between the descendants of the classes which co-existed on plantations. The theory is therefore a class-based theory. The Plantation Society theory associates each class with a certain culture. In the peak era of the plantation model (1700-1900) European culture subjugated West African, Indian and Chinese cultures. These cultures were expressed in music, food, religion and even occupations (economic activities).

Evidence to support this theory can still be found. It can be argued that the informal economic system today is exactly as it was then, with the elite allowing a small space of independence to the massive underclass. Just as slaves were able to do surplus farming in their spare time based on permission by overseers, so too the informal system continues to thrive as permitted by civic authorities. Government regulation of the informal transport system exemplifies this.

Olwig (1999) is a contemporary Caribbean anthropologist whose ethnography fits well with the Plantation Society theory. In her ethnography of family lands on the island of St John, she argues that family land became important between the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, because it enabled persons to be mobile, while maintaining a sense of rootedness; this continues today. Each descendant of the original owner of the family land in St. John has equal claim to the land, which can be activated when desired.

Although everyone is granted rights to use the land, rights are not granted to pieces of the land. The number of heirs increase exponentially, but there is no threat of subdividing the land out of existence. Individuals can claim different pieces of land as they inherit from both parents. Few ever actually enjoy use of the land. It is the knowledge of its existence and the right to lay claim to it that is important. The embeddedness is emphasised by the family burial ground on the land which holds the graves of the original owner and other relatives who have lived and died on the land. Selling the land therefore involves, almost literally, selling the family (Olwig 1999).

Olwig (1999) traces this family land arrangement to the plantation system where it was usual for slavers to relieve slaves from plantation work in specific periods so they could work on their own 'provision grounds'[3]. They did so in order to relieve themselves of the burden of providing food for the slaves. This practice was not perceived as a threat to the success to the economy of the plantation as it did not interfere with the plantation's purpose of producing and exporting large volumes of crops for profit. By allowing the slaves to develop their own subsistence economy, the planters unintentionally enabled them to create a place of their own where they might develop economic and social ties with one another. By the end of slavery in the 1830s, these provision ground areas in the border lands of the estates had developed into small village-like communities. The slaves spent an increasing amount of their time in these communities, sometimes even living in small huts that they built themselves. The informal economy was thus set up to be interdependent with the formal economy. The planters needed their workers fed while the slaves needed the planters to supply the land and time for them to operate their informal economic activities.

The concept of rooted mobility helps in both understanding the emerging identity of Caribbean people, as well as identifying the nature of their engagement with the informal economy. This historical point of view presents family land as an escape from plantation rule which was characterised with separation,

[3] Plots of land allotted to slaves for personal food cultivation. This decreased the cost of feeding the slaves (Burnard 2004).

disjointedness, and rootlessness. Family land reverses this experience by turning a subsistence garden plot into a permanent home and place of identity for all the descendants of the first owner. This meaning of family land was apparent in the oral history interviews Olwig carried out with elderly St. Johnians, who described the land as a place of freedom and belonging. The informal economy is consequently the group of activities that lie outside the plantation economy proper. With a strong influence of the Plantation Society theory, Olwig has identified and explored an informal system which continues to provide rootedness and belonging for Caribbean people. The greater application of this is that this theory allows for Caribbean identity to be entrenched in informality.

Brown-Glaude (2011) finds a historical and anthropological parallel of this informal identity on St John, with the informal activities of higglers in Jamaica who also have their foundations in the slave plantation economy. Then, higglering was permitted and even encouraged as a means of subsidising the cost of feeding slaves. Today, it is denigrated. Brown-Glaude reports that public derogatory characterisations of higglers and their physical bodies are indicative of prejudice towards the informal class and are perpetuated today (Brown-Glaude 2011).

In line with the Plantation Society theory, both Olwig's case study of family land on St. John and Brown-Glaude's study of higglers in Jamaica describe institutions that Afro-Caribbean people have created out of a position of enforced deprivation. Family land offered opportunity in the colonial societies, enabling the people to develop social and economic ties within the local African-Caribbean community of kinsmen and friends. The higglers of Brown-Glaude's research also display the ability of the Afro- Caribbean people to create their own enterprises despite the overwhelming domination of the economic system by others.

Plural Society

There is a third theory about the question of Caribbean identity. Plural societies refer to the coexistence of parallel but incompatible institutions in a recognized political state, which by nature is hierarchic, competitive and autocratic (Bryce-Laporte 1967, Mintz 1966). This model was first put forward by M. G. Smith (1974). Plural societies are made up of socio-cultural groups which

are distinct from each other by way of their exclusive and impenetrable institutional, cultural, and moral orders. These sections enjoy greater interdependence, consistency, and coherence within themselves than with each other. They are held together by regulations, which represent the exercise of power or force by the dominant group over the subordinate ones. A common phrase associated with this model is “mix but do not blend”. According to Smith, any given society may possess plurality to some extent, however, this does not qualify that society to be considered a plural society (Smith 1974).

This theory of the plural society accounts for the divisions of colour, race, class, and subcultures in Caribbean society. As a hierarchical model, it highlights these distinct categories, their strata and their coexistence under state power. Smith writes; "The monopoly of power by one cultural section is the essential precondition for the maintenance of the total society in its current form…" (Smith 1974, 183). Trouillot (1992) agrees with Smith that Caribbean societies are pluralistic. He contends that they stand as essentially “political shells”, filled with opposing value-systems. These different sets of institutions are held together by the vertical power of the state.

Smith’s plural society theory, was not embraced by fellow scholars at the time. Trouillot (1992) believes that was because Smith did not highlight the issue of the relationship between the state and the different groups. This issue still needs to be taken more seriously by anthropologists, in the Caribbean and elsewhere. However, Trouillot agrees with Smith’s general theory and states that in the case of the Caribbean, the concept of a homogeneous culture does not apply (Trouillot 1992).

Therefore, the Plural Society theory explains the formal and informal dichotomy in this way; the formal economy encompasses those activities that are defined and regulated by the European elite, while in opposition, the informal economy encompasses those activities which operate outside that framework. In this way the non-Western parts of the transport sector are relegated to an informal status.

Conclusion

The creolisation theory, plantation society theory and plural society theory have dominated the discourse of Caribbean social, economic and political identity since decolonisation in the 1960s. They each provide for the informal economy in their descriptions of the Caribbean society. They state reasons for the emergence and continuation of the informal economy in society today. The Creolisation theory says that the informal economy is the same as the creole economy. It includes economic activities that are the result of hybridisation; economic activities transferred from other societies and recreated in a new cultural space. It also identifies wit and cunning as necessary characteristics of these activities and aligns them with "reputation" rather than "respectability". The Plantation Society theory identifies the informal economy as rejection of the plantation rule which is characterised with separation, disjointedness, and rootlessness. Instead, informal economic activities solidify connections to others and to a place in the absence of other anchoring for identity. They emerged as secondary activities to the main purpose of the plantation but were necessary for the survival of its workers. The Plural Society theory identifies informal economic activities as those activities that are practised by the groups that are excluded from social, political and economic power in society.

Additionally, three common themes emerge from these theories. They are; (1) dominant western structures subjugate indigenous/native/ Afro-Caribbean ones, (2) formal structures rely on informal ones and (3) that different cultures (whether they are associated with ethnic groups or socio-economic class) are associated with different economic activities. Implicit in all three arguments is the idea that within the Caribbean identity, informality displays passivity. Informal activities are portrayed as consequences to structural formation or represented as the subjugated other. These ideas downplay whatever negotiation and assertion of identity is actively done by Caribbean/ people. This paper will continue to review the informal economy to get a fuller understanding of its nature. It will then provide the ethnographic example of the transport system in Jamaica to compare the lived experience with these current dominant theories.

Anthropology's Interest in the Informal Economy

In the study of human kind, anthropology examines how elements of people's lives relate to elements of the societies to which they belong. The anthropological perspective views individual and collective lives as they relate to each other in an interconnected, yet often disorderly fashion. Bronislaw Malinowski (a founder of anthropology) identified social and political relationships that are supported and perpetuated through trade and exchange in his study of Trobriand Islanders, suggesting the importance of the economic realm in anthropology right from the start of the discipline. James Carrier (2012) provides a succinct definition of economic anthropology as the discipline now understands it. He says, "At the most basic, economic anthropology is the description and analysis of economic life, using an anthropological perspective" (Carrier 2012, 1).

Social scientist Polanyi's (1944) formalist/substantivist distinction also influenced the way anthropology approaches the study of the economy. Polanyi identified two ways of understanding economic behaviour. The formalist approach identifies economics as the logic of rational action and decision-making. It recognises and predicts rational choice between alternative uses of limited (scarce) resources. The antithesis to this is the substantivist approach. This approach studies how humans make a living from their social and natural environment. The substantivist approach assumes that a society chooses its economic strategy as an adaptation to its environment and material conditions. Economics, according to the substantivist approach then, is the study of the way societies meet their material needs. Anthropology's approach to economics has been predominantly substantivist.

Addressing the analytical bases of economic anthropology, Eriksen (2012) argues that two necessary positions are needed to analyse differences in economic activities. These are that cultural differences exist, and that these differences may be the result of structural difference. Under the first position, economic anthropologists hold to the idea that each group possesses certain cultural resources that make its members well qualified to do certain economic activities

by choice, tradition or both. The second position understands structural factors to be systemic power differences. This power difference is experienced/ expressed when members of one group are denied access to certain activities or their chosen activities are denied positions of status. According to Eriksen, in order to study the way a society meets its material needs, the anthropologist must recognise the differences within it and the structural factors affecting choice of economic activities. This leads us to the study of the informal economy.

The term 'informal economy' emerged in development theory in the 1970s. As used by Keith Hart, the term distinguished self-employment from wage-earning (formal) jobs (Hart 1973). The term came out of a study of 1950s Ghana when it experienced significant urbanisation. The inability of the industrialisation process to absorb large numbers of unskilled, illiterate workers resulted in widespread poverty and unemployment. Curiously, a closer look revealed that the urban poor were not actually unemployed, but were engaged in small-scale, unregistered, unmeasured, and largely unregulated 'informal' activities.

The previous overview of influential Caribbean identity theories, highlighted this common theme of the existence of an informal economy in the shadow of formally recognised activities. The most widely accepted theories identify the informal economy as emerging out of, or alongside the formal economy. With such persistent views of the part the informal economy plays in our socio-political identity then, it is important to explore whether this argument holds up when one aspect of the informal economy-the Jamaican informal transport system is isolated.

Definitions of Informal Economy

Hart's (1973) definition of the informal economy as small-scale, unregistered, unmeasured and largely unregulated activities opened the way for further attempts at defining it. Social scientists have developed this characterisation or opposed it in various forms (Allen 1998, Meagher 2010, Morris and Polese 2013, Rizzo, Kilama, and Wuyts 2015, Williams, Horodnic, and Windebank 2015). Three major groups of definitions have emerged from

these; dualist definitions; Marxist definitions; and social relations definitions. Most of these have been previously identified and explored by Bernabe (2002) whose work I draw on in the following section.

Dualist Definitions

Hart's dualist understanding was widely adopted and adapted. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) is one body that uses this understanding. It characterises formal sectors as large-scale production, incorporation, and the use of capital-intensive technologies. On the other hand the informal sector involves small-scale production, is unincorporated or family owned, and uses labour intensive technologies (ILO 2002).

The ILO explains that;

> Economic units operate in the informal economy mainly because inappropriate regulations and excessively high tax policies are responsible for excessive costs of formalization and because barriers to markets and the lack of access to market information, public services, insurance, technology and training exclude them from the benefits of formalization. High transaction and compliance costs are imposed on economic units by laws and regulations that are overly burdensome or involve dealing with corrupt or inefficient bureaucracies. The absence of an appropriate system of property rights and the titling of the assets of the poor prevents the generation of productive capital needed for business development. (International Labour Organisation 2002, 57)

Other dualist approaches have defined the informal sector in terms of its position outside of state protection. Weeks (1975) argues that the informal sector operates outside the formal system of benefits and of formal credit institutions, while the formal sector is officially recognised, nurtured, and regulated by the State. Along these same lines, Mazumdar (1976) describes the informal as unprotected, urban labour and the formal as protected urban labour. Roberts (1990) agrees with both and argues that operating in the informal sector is how people survive in the absence of basic welfare provided by either the state or private interest groups.

Williams, Horondic and Windebank (2015) also define the informal economy according to this dualist tradition. They state that the laws and rules of formal institutions sometimes become misaligned with the norms and values of the society. When this happens a greater number of citizens become a part of the

informal economy. Williams, et al. (2015) conducted 27,563 interviews across 29 European countries. The researchers' questions focused on both the respondents' views about the laws and regulations of their respective countries and their participation in the informal sector. The findings indicate that male single parents in the working class tend to have the lowest trust in government and formal institutions. As a result they have the highest representation in the informal economy.

Marxist Definitions

Rizzo et al. (2015) oppose this dualist discourse on the informal economy. In urban Tanzania they found that the informal economy had more wage earners than self-employed workers. They concluded that self-employment cannot be equated with the informal economy despite the way some authors present it. Other authors agree with Rizzo et al. (2015) that formal and informal activities are not mutually exclusive. They believe that both exist within the same capitalist system in which informal activities are subordinate to, and dependent on, the formal sector. Marxists identify two main relationships and define the informal economy according to these relationships. In one the informal sector is an extension of the production network of the formal sector. In the other, it provides cheap goods and services to the labour force, therefore enabling large firms to pay extremely low wages (Allen 1998).

Moser (1994) points out that where the dualist approach assumes a supportive relationship and therefore advocates the development of closer links through subcontracting and credit, Marxists assume the relationship is exploitative and consequently advocate an increased autonomy of the informal system cutting the links with large-scale capitalist enterprises (Moser 1994).

Social Relations Definitions

Morris and Polese (2013), provide their definition of the informal economy through post-structural analysis of other influential definitions. The authors put forward the view that both dualist and Marxist ideas fail to acknowledge the diversity; parasitic, symbiotic and/or embedded relationships between the informal economy and the formal economy. They define the informal

economy as a continuum, a range of activities that fit between lawful/legal, semi-legal and illegal. They understand informal economic activities to be closely tied to social relations within the market and how the state controls the market. They argue that the activities are not always in opposition to but often in support of it (Morris and Polese 2013). Their conclusion came from ten ethnographic studies across Eastern Europe, Central and East Asia and the former USSR which focused on health service, transport, childcare, agriculture and trade.

Meagher's (2010) definition of the informal economy as the social aspect of the economy fits well with Morris and Polese (2013). Her work examined the role of social networks in Nigerian informal economies where she reviewed the evolution of social networks (in the town of Aba) among Igbo shoe and garment producers. Meagher argues that culture, agency, and the state all influence the economy to varying degrees. These three combine to create the informal economy. She argues that research currently lacks a balanced assessment of the successes and failures of the Nigerian informal economy.

The Jamaican Informal Economy

These definitions and writings together create a picture of what the informal economy is. It can be loosely described as a range of economic activities (including but not limited to self-employment), that are heavily embedded in the social relations of exchange, and are not protected by the state. This definition is two-part. It expresses the importance of the social relations that the economic activities are embedded in, as well as the lack of protection by the state. The Jamaican informal transport system fits squarely within the informal economy based on this definition. As expressed in the previous section, the relationships within the system are a major aspect of it. So too are the range of worker types. The self-employed or hired-bus owner, the hired or contracted conductor and the untaxed, unregulated loader are among them.

The Inter-American Development Bank, in association with the Jamaican Statistical Institute (STATIN) provided an overview of the informal economy in Jamaica in 2001. The publication begins with an estimate of the size of the informal sector, then examines the characteristics of the sector in order to

understand the role informality plays in the economy and to analyse its influence in the country's declining poverty of the 1990s. It estimated that in 2001 the informal economy supplied around 43% of the GDP (Roble et al. 2006).

STATIN measured the size of micro and small enterprises (MSEs) as they represent a major part of the informal sector. The decision to focus on MSEs was made because of the inability to define the informal system in a way that captures all players. Activities in the informal economy range from illegal to almost formal, this means it is difficult to identify participants. MSEs are also heavily engaged with other informal activities and they differ in important ways from their larger, formal counterparts. The work identified several characteristics of the Jamaican informal economy:

> (1) Nearly 60% of Jamaicans in the informal sector (MSEs) work in the wholesale/retail trade or agriculture. Manufacturing is a distant third of the most important activities, involving only 9%. (2) 70% of workers in the system work without formal contracts. (3) Work is usually part-time rather than full-time. (4) 57% of the workers in the system are women. (5) 38% of entrepreneurs claimed that their motivation for their work was independence. (6) 23% of MSE firms use account books and only 21% have a business plan. (7) 25% of Jamaica's MSE entrepreneurs spend time improving or developing new products or services. (8) The average MSE meets only 35% of all the legal requirements (Roble et al. 2006, 30-38).

Key Characteristics of the Informal Economy

The above definitions of the informal economy expose certain characteristics of it. They reveal that; (1) the informal economy has strong social relationship aspects to it; (2) activities and participants in the informal economy are often not protected by the state; (3) the informal economy and the formal economy are interdependent and; (4) the informal economy is highly stigmatised. Anthropologists and other social scientists have explored these characteristics. In order to understand the role that the informal economy plays in the socio-political identity of Jamaica, in the following section I explore each of these characteristics as they are evidenced in the informal public transport system.

Social Relationship Aspects

Sidney Mintz (1998) provides a description and analysis of Haiti's internal exchange economy as seen in its market places, and focused on 'Pratik'[4]. He describes the market place as an intersection point in the trade network where Haiti's agricultural products and imports reach consumers. Mintz explains that through the market place, producers, consumers, and multiple intermediaries (bulking, transport, packing, minor processing, etc.) are united. The Pratik provides the unity. In every exchange both buyer and seller is Pratik. The term symbolises the reciprocal relationship within the market. The initial reason for the emergence of Pratik was to secure and solidify channels of trade. However, this has evolved. Pratik is highly dependent on trust, therefore, dishonesty on the part of a Pratik will sever the relationship. This gives the economy a social aspect. His study supports Meagher (2010) by highlighting the social relations of exchange in which informal economic practices are heavily embedded.

Thieme (2015) also explores these social relations which characterise informal economies. Through an ethnography of the waste sanitation movement, Community Cleaning Services (CCS) in Nairobi Kenya, she reveals that there is a close relationship between informal communities and informal economic systems. Thieme (2014) shows that the slum communities, which are informal communities of the city, are natural suppliers of participants to the informal economy. Past members of youth groups and sports teams, and past friends are targeted to become micro-franchisees of the CCS. Young community members are taught "trash is cash" and even perceive employment with CCS as a rite of passage. This intertwining of the economic system and social cultural structures highlight Eriksen's (2012) belief that cultural differences exist as a result of structural factors and these influence the economic activities of people.

Although these examples are outside of Jamaica, there are significant parallels to the Jamaican informal economy. The description of the transport system in the earlier chapter highlights the large role that trust and loyalty play in

[4] An institutionalised personal relationship characterised by the struggle to secure profit in the market.

passenger-worker relationships and worker-worker relationships. Other examples of the sociality of the transport system will be given in ensuing chapters.

Lack of Protection

Lack of protection by the state is another major characteristic of informal economic activities. According to the ILO, lack of protection is evidenced by; non-payment of wages, compulsory overtime or extra shifts, lay-offs without notice or compensation, unsafe working conditions and the absence of social benefits such as pensions, sick pay and health insurance. Women, migrants and other vulnerable groups of workers, who are excluded from other opportunities, have little choice but to take informal low-quality jobs (International Labour Organisation 2002). An article in the *Jamaica Gleaner* provides an example of this lack of protection. The paper reported how the transport authority scaled back its efforts which previously ensured the minibus, taxi and coaster fares were paid in full by passengers (Robinson 2016). This left the drivers, conductors and vehicle owners without any guarantee of fares. They collect less money each journey and many report that they are now operating at a loss.

Interdependent with Formal Economy

The informal economy can also be characterised as having an interdependent relationship with the formal economy. 60% of the world labour market is informal (Williams 2014). This means that only 40% of the current global market is maintained by formal employment. Charman (2013), Marcelli (2009), Sassen (1994), Van Rooyen (1997), and Williams (2014) all explore the interdependence between the formal and informal economies. From the literature, the interdependence is evident in two ways; (1) formal economic activities are insufficient to cater to all the needs of the people in society, and (2) the informal system is defined according to the regulatory framework of the formal system that it eludes. Williams (2014) highlights that people choose to enter the informal economy to provide for kin, neighbours, friends and acquaintances that suffer under the formal system. Essentially these theorists indicate that the formal economy has gaps within its system for the opposing system to exist within. This symbiotic relationship is necessary for the perpetuation of both systems.

Katzin (1959) provides an ethnographic report of the life of a country higgler, a special category of higgler in Jamaica. In it she shows how the informal economy suits the needs of the village market economy. Country higglers act as distributors, collecting surplus produce from neighbours to sell wholesale to market vendors in urban areas. This article was written to tell the story of one country higgler. It recorded her life over the course of one week; noting how she collected the goods, prepared them for sale, journeyed to the market and distributed them. Hence the higgler depends on the market economy (formal) to purchase her produce, whilst the market depends on the higgler (informal) to supply the produce.

This activity resonates with the informal transport system. As mentioned before, registered vehicles in Jamaica have a ratio of 188 to every 1000 people and the remainder of the country's population depend on the public transport system. There are only 460 JUTC buses across the island and each carries a maximum of 100 people. While this is a significant number, the system cannot possibly cater to all the commuting public's needs. Meanwhile minibuses cover the areas that the JUTC buses (from the formal system) do not cover. This creates seamless coverage (conceptually and actually) that allows for the myth of the sufficiency of a formal economy and an accompanying state power to be perpetuated. Therefore, the informal public transport system serves the needs of the wider formal economy. It moves workers of the formal economy around, ensuring they are at their places of employment on time.

The use of legal tender as the machinery of exchange in the informal transport system indicates a dependence of the informal economy on the formal economy. The personnel in all modes of transport charge money printed by the Bank of Jamaica (BOJ) for their services.

Highly Stigmatised

This seems to suggest that the informal economy supports the formal economy, preventing collapse in times of extreme financial pressure. However, Marcelli et al (2009) explore this final characteristic of the informal economy, and indicate that the perception of the informal economic system by people within and

without the system is mostly negative. They reported the following from post-socialist Eastern Europe.

> "These low-skilled 'informal' activities are heavily stigmatised, particularly in the former Soviet Union, where job status and education are still very highly regarded, and where 'entrepreneurial' activity is still somewhat associated with a 'dishonest and criminal way of making money'" (Marcelli, Williams, and Joassart 2009, 47).

They explained that during the Soviet period, status and prestige were more important than money. This social capital secured access to scarce goods and services. When formal employment collapsed it separated people from their social ties and stripped them of their social capital. This social exclusion and damage to prestige became associated with informal employment.

Brown-Glaude (2011) provides an example of this exclusion and stigmatisation in the Jamaican informal economy. Through an analysis of 'higglers'[5] in Jamaica, she highlights hierarchies of power embodied and embedded within the system. Brown-Glaude defines higglers as, "a term commonly used by Jamaicans to identify a particular kind of street vendor - a so-called lower-class black woman who sells a range of items on the streets or in government-appointed market areas - and arcades (covered passageways with stalls on either side where vendors display their wares)" (Brown-Glaude 2011, 2). These vendors are seen as vulgar, unfeminine and contaminating (Brown-Glaude 2011, 3). Public discourses about higglers help legitimize the ways in which the state attempts to discipline them.

She goes on to explain that public representations of higglers and their bodies reveal how Jamaicans conceptualise race, class, and gender. These representations affect higglers' work experiences in the informal economy and help maintain a presumed social and spatial order. Stories about lower-class black womanhood are written on higglers' bodies by the wider society. Looking broken and worn down, they bear on their bodies the signs of the contempt they are held in by the wider society (Brown-Glaude, 2011).

[5] Jamaican female microentrepreneurs

Brown-Glaude (2011) opines that to gain a better grasp of the gradations of informality one cannot focus on the economic practices or material conditions of individual actors while ignoring structural and cultural factors that help shape those practices and conditions. She says that Max Weber clarifies this point in his description of the multidimensionality of power. Indeed, power wielded is often the product of structural and cultural factors. Her conclusion therefore is that the experiences of Jamaican higglers reveal that low status occupations within the informal economy are not honoured socially.

Interestingly these are similar to the views that the Jamaican middle and upper classes have of the men who work in the informal transport system. They too are described as a bother, as nuisances, bad men, criminals, etc. It is still quite common to refer to public transport workers by the derogatory term "bwoy". The term 'taxi bwoy' is used frequently and is meant to relay the feelings of disgust and annoyance that "bwoy" did 200 years ago when slaves were called bwoy by slave masters. The following tweet is an example of the daily use of "taxi bwoy". "F**ing idiat *taxi bwoy* scrape up the whola me f***ing car side wid di ppl dem r**s car me feel like cuss r**s badwud inuh". [Stupid taxi boy scratched the side of my car with his owner's car. I feel like cursing!] (Twitter- Lloyd Miller, October 27, 2012).

Conclusion

Williams (2014) argues that state economies are measured according to formal systems, which ignores the integral, informal part of the economy. The resultant measurement of GDP, was made on assumption that the informal economy was on the decline. However, William's study shows that 60% of the world labour market is informal which shows that the informal economy has not declined. Nevertheless, he contends that the ever changing academic understanding of informal economies does not allow them to be easily measured and included.

So far we have formulated a definition of the informal economy and understand the characteristics of the informal economy which include; (1) the informal economy has strong social relationship aspects to it; (2) activities and participants in the informal economy are often not protected by the state; (3) the

informal economy and the formal economy are interdependent and; (4) the informal economy is highly stigmatised. The remainder of this chapter will explore what links others have found between the informal economy and the wider socio-political economy.

The Informal Economy and Political Structures

The emergent informal economy emerges

In addition to what Sassen (1994) put forward concerning the relationship between the informal and formal economic system, others argue that socio-political past and present are what influenced the formation and endurance of the informal sector. Charman et al. (2013) and van Rooyen (1997) are two of the previously cited authors that agree with her suggestion. They both believe that the history of apartheid and current political policies in South Africa contribute to the persistence of the informal economy. Bernabe (2002) builds on this idea with an ethnography out of post-socialist Russia. She explores the nature of Russia's economy and contrasts existing economic theories of sub-economies and economic history to come to the conclusion that the economic and political systems are discrete but mutually supporting. This relationship is revealed when major political changes are in effect.

Many of the current informal economic activities in Jamaica emerged out of the socio-political system of slavery. Partner draws and higglering are just two examples. The transition to waged labour after 1834 in Jamaica resulted in a vast number of freed slaves entering the informal economy. In efforts to get away from the plantation system, they opted for self-employment with or without state protection. Another major change was that during the 1950s and early 1960s Jamaica and other Caribbean countries adopted free trade policies, shifting to a proto-neo-liberal political position. This along with gaining independence and becoming a sovereign nation had an impact on the economic system of the country, directly and indirectly affecting the informal economy within the state. Throughout these different eras however, Jamaica has remained capitalist. Sassen's belief that capitalism fosters an informal economy is seen in practice in the transport system in Jamaica. Transport workers fit into the unprotected,

unregulated crevices of the transport system in an attempt to accumulate funds and engage in the global economy as rational actors. They trade their services for the benefit of capital. Had the accumulation of funds and the competition for resources not been a key ideology of the system, the informal transport system might not thrive as it does now.

According to Bernabe (2002), in Russia there was increased activity in the informal sector during the 1990s as the country transitioned from communism to socialism. The transition to a market economy was not a smooth one. In the early years there was hardly any economic growth. This directly impacted the livelihood of the people. Amidst the economic crisis, increasing inequality, job loss and impoverishment; the informal economy became a means of sustenance and survival. Some of the activities identified were street trading, subsistence agriculture, and unofficial taxi services. 27% of Russia's GDP was produced in the informal economy by the late 1990s (Kim 2002). Seeth et al. (1998) also explore how households cope with poverty by increasing subsistence food production. They found that the majority of the [Russian] population now produces a considerable amount of its own food supply. Ethnographies from post-socialist Europe seem to suggest that the informal economy supports the formal political economy, preventing collapse in times of extreme financial pressures.

This is reminiscent of the provision grounds as described by Olwig (1999) previously. The common practice of allotting 'provision grounds' to slaves allowed the slaves to develop their own subsistence economy. The socio-political system of slavery enabled slaves to create a place of their own where they might develop social and economic ties with one another. By the end of slavery in the 1830s, these provision grounds had developed into small village-like communities. The slaves spent an increasing amount of their time in these communities, sometimes even staying in small huts which they had built themselves.

Brown-Glaude (2011) also examined that practice in her exploration of 'higglering'. She said,

> "In the markets, interactions between slave women and their customers, including white residents and merchants, were not based on a master-slave relationship determined by the complete subservience of slaves.

> Instead, the relationship was based on bartering, which implies an exchange or trade between two subjects. Slave women repositioned themselves in these market exchanges as economic agents, and the profits and income generated from their sales belonged to them, not their slaveholder. In fact, at one point, slave higglers controlled most of the coins that circulated on the island." (Brown-Glaude 2011, 92)

The socio-political system maintains the informal economy

The informal economy emerges out of the socio-political system and is also maintained by the socio-political system from which it emerges. Chen (2007) says, many owners and operators of informal enterprises operate semi-legally or illegally because the regulatory environment is too punitive, too cumbersome or simply non-existent. She contends that most owner operators would be willing to pay registration fees and taxes if they were to receive the benefits of formality enjoyed by registered businesses. For instance, street vendors who now pay a mix of legal and illegal fees would welcome the security that comes with being legally recognized (Chen 2007). However, this is elusive. Sassen (1994) believes the informal economy is a necessary outgrowth of advanced capitalism. Whichever way the economy is regulated will affect the informal economy which emerges. She says,

> "informalization must be seen in the context of the economic restructuring that has contributed to the decline of the manufacturing-dominated industrial complex of the postwar era and the rise of a new, service-dominated economic complex (Sassen 1994, 2290)

The sharing economy is an example of how the informal economy maintains capitalism. In western societies, deregulated economies have emerged over the last fifteen years, due to internet technology. Working with the definition of the informal economy as a range of economic activities (including but not limited to self-employment) which are heavily embedded in the social relations of exchange and are not protected by the state, we see that the "peer economy"/ "collaborative economy" fit well in this model (Botsman and Rogers 2010).

The sharing economy is defined as person to person economic activities facilitated by digital platforms (Schor et al. 2015). It is often described as, "goodwill with an instrumental purpose, occupying the rarest of places: where

self-interest and public good happily coincide" (Schor et al. 2015, 13). The sharing economy encapsulates a number of activities. The meaning of sharing varies from activity to activity. It may be like Couchsurfing, where people stay with others for free or like Airbnb and Trade Me where producers seek income and consumers seek the best deals. One critique of sharing economies is the lack of regulation. For the most part, strangers are united under trust and little else. This deregulation makes it risky. Additionally, the lack of adherence to external regulations regarding zoning laws (with Air BnB) and labour laws (with Uber) forces researchers to study the differences and similarities that exist between sharing economies and long existing informal economies.

Fischer (2014) guesses that one reason we are seeing a resurgence in peer-to-peer transactions, tech developments aside, is the greater economic need for them in a stagnant economy. He looks at the activities that are now considered informal, tracking the regulations which have brought them to this point. Fischer postulates that activities first emerged out of need then were regulated (Fischer 2014). This forced the majority to conform and leave an informal remnant (ie. sharing economies). This may be a reason for the persistence of the informal economy. The informal economy will always be new innovations not yet regulated or left on the outskirts after standardised lines are drawn.

In his ethnography of Jamaica's criminal informal economy Stuart Henry argues that capitalist governments like Jamaica's are responsible for creating the conditions of demand and supply that support the growth of informal economies. Henry's focus is on blatant criminal activity but has some application for the general informal economy in Jamaica. He explains that by excluding some people from a legitimate share of the wealth they create, governments force marginalized sections of the population to participate in informal economies. He essentially traces criminal conduct to state-organized activities in Jamaica. As expressed before, informality is not necessarily criminal (Henry 1991, 253).

This section explored what anthropologists have identified as the nature of the relationship between the informal economy and political structures. It highlighted that the formal economy emerged and is maintained by the wider

socio-political reality in which it exists. (Bernabé 2002, Sassen 1994) and Chen (2002). The transition of post-socialist Europe provides lessons for how this relationship works. Bernabe (2002) highlighted that the economy constricted when the political system changed in Russia. This constriction resulted in a growth of the informal economy. Sassen's (1994) example from the United States of America is not the result of a transition. It shows the persistence of the informal economy in a capitalist political system.

Conclusion

The informal transport system straddles that blurred line between regulated, sanctioned transport and unsanctioned, unregulated transport. There are other comparable activities that fit into the Jamaican informal economy, two of which are 'higglering' and 'partnering'. The lived experiences of the workers in the informal transport system are very similar to those of higglers. The negative perception of workers in the transport system by upper and middle class members of society is one common experience of all workers in informal enterprises.

There are further characteristics shared between the informal public transport and, for instance, higglering in Jamaica. Some of these are; deep trust between worker and consumer, unfavourable views by persons outside the system, reliance on wit and cunning, and blurred lines between legal and illegal activities. Using this example of the informal economy in Jamaica along with the ethnographic example of the informal transport system, we are better able to understand the definition of 'informal economy' as well as the expression of its characteristics; and the relationship between the informal and formal economies and how that contrasts with the wider political economy in societies.

Studies on informal economies show that they can be loosely described as a set of economic activities including but not limited to self-employment, which are heavily embedded in the social relations of exchange, and are not protected by the state. Both aspects of an economy (formal and informal) are closely linked as evidenced by a constriction of one resulting in growth in the other or vice-versa. Anthropologists have also been able to reveal the close ties informal economies

have with wider socio-political realities. Changes from communism to socialism or capitalism resulted in an expansion of informal economies in Eastern Europe.

The informal economy is not made up of a static range of practices, rather it changes shape and the lines of demarcation between formal and informal can shift. This is demonstrated by the recent emergence and subsequent integration of new practices first termed “the sharing economy”, but now often included under the label of informal economy. Statistics reveal that in 2001 the informal economy in Jamaica accounted for almost 50% of the overall GDP. It remains a significant aspect of the Jamaican economy. The informal transport system is just one activity within that large informal economy. There are similarities among informal economic activities. Higglering is one of those activities.

Theories of Caribbean identity have presented the informal economy is a component of identity. As an aspect of the informal economy, the informal transport system gives us clues to the nature of the socio-political identity of the Jamaican society. This will be further discussed in the upcoming chapter on moralities revealed by and within public transport in Jamaica. Before this is explored, the paper will disclose how the public transport system is experienced daily.

EVERYDAY EXPERIENCES OF PUBLIC TRANSPORT

The previous chapters explored the theoretical bases of what the informal economy is, how it relates to wider socio-political structures, and how the informal economy fits in our understanding of how our nation is structured socio-politically. Explicit in Caribbean theories of identity is the idea that informality and formality are juxtaposed. This dichotomy has been used to categorise activities within the same transport system. By looking at the choices that people make and the way they use and experience different forms of public transport, we can gain a clearer understanding of whether and how the dichotomy of informal/formal plays a part in user experiences of the transport system. To do this, this chapter draws on personal vignettes, interview responses, and previously published stories to paint a picture of the daily experiences of each mode of transport.

The JUTC

The following report e-mailed by respondent S. is of a single journey on a JUTC bus.

I went on a bus at about 10:30 am. Caught it while i was walking to price rite. The bus driver actually blew his horn to signal that he was gonna stop for me a little before the bus stop at price rite. Me neva have nuh issues with that. Go pon di bus and siddung well comfortable a tek een di AC. Then, a blind man came on the bus. He had a broom stick in his hand instead of the regular ones they use to guide them. He told the driver he had no bus fare but wanted a ride to wherever. I neva hear the exchange between the driver and the man but the man was apparently badding up the thing. So the driver seh him nah let him on without fare. A good Samaritan lady paid his fare for him then the man start behave well disrespectful to the driver. A talk bout him ago lick him inna him face with him stick and thump him and bare things. The blind man enuh!!! So di driver

get CROSS. And tell the man seh him nah drive the bus with him pon it. Him need fi come awfff! Den another man come pon the bus, nuh hear wahh gwaan but jump pon the blind man side and talk bout how the driver caan tek off nobody offa no bus. So you know wah di driver do? My fren tun off the engine!! Tek up him bag and seh him nah drive dis!! LOL. By this time, EVERYBODY inna di bus a CUSS. From young to old. Some a cuss off the blind man, some a cuss the driver, some a cuss jutc, some a cuss government. One super old man tell di driver him need fi drive the BBC bus. Lol a lie. But him did a cuss him like he wanted to cuss some badwords. The inspector came on a little after and mek di whole a we know seh she know di blind man and a regular him do this. So she tell the man fi come off. The man REFUSED. So di driver decide him done work fi di day. To rahtid. Eventually the man come off, after them seh them ago put him pon one nodda bus. Then the inspector told us we should go on another bus and pointed to the bus in front of us. So di whole a we come off and go to the bus only fi hear seh we caan come pon da bus deh coz it was a 47. Yow. Not funny enuh. A like half hour gone and we still stuck inna di same place. A 46B came in front of the 47, and we all went on that. Everybody still a cuss bout the situation. By the time we got to get the bus RAM! Coz dat was the only 46 running since the other driver decide seh him nah rerk. (Excerpt from interview with Person S. 2015)

[I went on a bus at about 10:30 am. I caught it while walking to Price Right. The bus driver actually blew his horn to signal that he was going to stop for me a little before the bus stop. I had no problem with that. I went on the bus and got comfortable, enjoying the cool air conditioning. Then a blind man came on the bus. He had a broom stick in his hand instead of the regular ones they use to guide them. He told the driver that he didn't have any bus fare but wanted a free fried. I didn't hear the exchange between the driver and the man but the man was

apparently being rough and demanding. The driver told him that he would not allow him onto the bus without paying. A good Samaritan lady paid his fare for him. The man then began to disrespect the driver. He threatened to hit him in the face with the stick and hurt the driver in other ways. The blind man! So the driver got very angry and told the blind man that he would not drive the bus as long as he was on it. He needed to disembark. At that point another man came on the bus. He had no idea of the altercation before but immediately supported the blind man. He insisted that the driver could not remove anyone from the bus. Do you know what the driver did?! My friend (the driver) turned off the engine!!! He collected his bags and declared he would not drive the bus. By this time all passengers in the bus began to argue, from young to old. Some cursed the blind man, some cursed the driver, some cursed JUTC, and some cursed the government. One very old man told the driver that he needed to drive the *badword* bus. Hahaha I am lying. He did not swear but it seemed as if he was about to. The inspector came shortly after and informed us that this blind man was a repeat offender. She then instructed him to leave the bus. He refused. The driver was then adamant that he was done working for the day. Eventually he came off after being promised that he would be put on another bus. The inspector also told us that we needed to get onto another bus and directed us to the bus parked in front. All of us left the first bus and went towards the second. They then told us that it was going another route. Not funny! We waited another thirty minutes until the correct bus came, during that time we were all recounting the event and cursing. Since the new bus had to transport us and its own passengers it was overfull.]

The account highlights the stern nature in which these buses are run; all passengers and drivers are expected to follow a strict code of conduct. This rigid formality sometimes clashes with passenger expectations as expressed in the story above. The formality however seems to give Jamaicans a sense of security. When I asked a friend which form of transport he would recommend children, women, tourists, the elderly and travellers to take at night, he had this to say:

> ***"I would recommend the JUTC buses to all the categories of people listed." (Excerpt from interview with person D. 2015)***

The participant believed that the JUTC was the best transport choice across the board. This was a shared response by most interviewees. For those considered vulnerable in society, they recommended the JUTC bus. However, further on in the email interview, person D actually ranked JUTC lower than their own preferred mode of transport. Their recommendations to others do not match their own decisions. This seems to suggest that the formal sector, represented by JUTC, does not fulfil all the needs of users. Therefore, they sometimes decide to use other, informal modes.

The Route Taxi

The following is a personal recollection of a single journey in a route taxi

> ***Saturday, April 20, 2013. Despite all experience I had with taxi men and public transport in general I was quite apprehensive about what I was to do. It was roughly 5:15am. I had slept in the university library after returning from an anthropology trip in the wee hours of the morning. The alarm sounded to let us know that all diligent students and we free loaders were to evacuate so the library could be cleaned for the upcoming day. I was surprised that taxis were already lined along the taxi stand waiting to take passengers to the main transport hubs in the city. That leg of the journey was exactly as expected; six people crammed into the small sedan, speeding along the main and side roads and the occasional toot of the horn in search of more passengers or to wish a fellow taxi man a blessed and productive day. It was in Half-way Tree that my stomach knotted. The sky was not yet quite light, so it was important for me to ask the taxi man to take me into the***

community, not leave me on the main road as what normally happens. Growing up I had witnessed taxi drivers do a similar service for many others. Even as a child drivers would take my grandmother and I right to her gate. I understood however that she was elderly and had her regular taxi men that had been transporting her along the same routes for many years. The dark was enough motivation to get into a vehicle quickly. I jumped into the front of one of the taxis waiting while the driver announced, "Molynes, Boulevard, Patrick City." Two more passengers jumped in, then encouraged the driver, quite convincingly to start the journey without a full vehicle in hopes of getting others along the way. The driver conceded and started the car. I was busy strategizing when would be the best time to ask for this special favour; immediately? Halfway through the journey? Closer to the stop? Suddenly I heard "BLOW WOW!!!" My eyes snapped to the direction of the exclamation in time to see a man spin in the middle of the road and fall. Everyone in the taxi craned their neck to see what would happen next. The man jumped up, laughed a loud nervous laugh and ran to his car. Turns out he was another taxi driver who crossed the street to lure potential passengers from the other side. In his attempt to get back to his vehicle, mixed with the high risk nature of a taxi-man, he misjudged the speed of a car and was almost hit. The speed of the car was enough to push him to the ground but he was fine otherwise. Of course this near miss was just the right amount of excitement for the morning and it had all the drivers and passengers that witnessed it to recall and re-recall the event from our perspective. A fourth passenger came into our vehicle who was unfortunate enough to miss the spectacle by two minutes. Our journey then began with our recount to him about all that happened. This worked well for me because the ice was completely broken. I was able to bravely beg the driver for a special turn-off. What we just

witnessed created such a bond that his response was, "of course baby, cyaa mek dem tek yuh weh tideh" (I can't make them take you away today). I was certainly happy to be home but never forgot my taxi-driver who was kind enough to take me to my gate nor the fellow passengers who witnessed the near miss with me. (Personal Vignette, 2015)

This account perfectly exemplifies the social relationships which characterise informal economies. Temporary or semi-permanent relationships are built on trust. Just as Mintz (1998) identified trust as a necessary component of the Pratik relationship in Haitian market, so too is trust a necessary component of the KMR transport system. I trusted the driver and other passengers in the vehicle to not stalk me after seeing my home. The driver and other passengers trusted me not to lure them into an ambush. The social relationship described in this account was not only built on trust. There was also a sense of equality that came as the result of us all experiencing the near fatal accident and having genuine reactions to it.

<u>The Robot</u>

The robot is certainly the dark and dangerous part of the transport system that incites equal measures of fear and pleasure. I asked friends to share with me their most memorable stories of traveling in a robot taxi and this is what they had to say:

"I took a robot, police drive down the vehicle then seized leaving us on the road side." (Excerpt from interview with person A, 2015)

"I took a robot and it broke down with me n my friends. The man insisted on not giving us back our money, so we could either go without our money or wait until he walked to a gas station and back. As soon as he left we took all the coins we

could from his change compartment and made a run for it. 🤣 true story." (Excerpt from interview with person F)

"Tek a robot and police and transport authority decided to park in front of him in an attempt to stop him from leaving and he drove straight through dem licking down a police man on his bike and then the chase start through downtown and its environs...a lady in the back begging the driver to stop and let her off, all this time this man a run stop sign, stop light bruk one way. I was just praying him nuh crash or police nuh fire nuh shot afta him...but he could be a stunt driver still, cuz sharayne fi elude Di police bikes in pursuit, Di man all deh pon the side walk. In the end he drive into a community in central Kingston near st georges college and park under a tree and I don't know where him turn. Me and the other two people dem had to take bus back to town cuz we decide we naah go back inna no robot, Di lady go pan her knee and start a piece a prayer deh u see." (Excerpt from interview with Person S.S)

[I took a robot and police and Transport Authority decided to park in front of him in an attempt to stop him from leaving. He drove straight through the block, hitting a police man off his bike. They then chased him through Downtown [City Centre] and surrounding communities. A lady in the back begged the driver to stop and let her off. During the chase, the driver ran stop signs and traffic lights, and broke one ways. I was just praying that he wouldn't crash and that the police wouldn't shoot at him… But he could be a stunt driver because Sharayne, to elude police bikes while in pursuit! The man even drove on the side walk [pavement]. In the end he drove into a community in Central Kingston near St. Georges College and parked under a tree [and fled]. I do not know where he disappeared to. The other two people and I had to take a bus back to town because we decided we would not go back into a robot. You should have seen the lady go on her knees and pray!]

These accounts convey equal measures of thrill and fear. Respondents used terms such as “I was just praying”, “made a run for it”, “leaving us on the roadside”, and “could be a stunt driver”. These accounts show the complex relationship that Jamaicans have with robots. Taking a robot seems to be done with both anticipation and trepidation.

The Hackney

I asked a friend to list and rank according to preference the forms of transport he is familiar with this was his response:

Order of preference:

Chartered taxis
JUTC
Private buses
Other taxis

Reasons for favourite

Comfort
Reliable (only a phone call away)
Secure

(Excerpt from interview with respondent C, 2015)

His responses show that when considering the form to use, he is most interested in comfort, reliability and security. These are all afforded by the hackney services in Jamaica. Interestingly he was the only interviewee to give such a response. Other respondents were more interested in speed, efficiency and camaraderie. Even this perception of comfort, reliability and security can be challenged however. Friends had the following stories to share however, revealing that the hackney is more complex than the previous respondent believes:

"wen [When] we went to Hawaiian fantasies [a party]. Febe, Mario Stephens and I took a taxi back to the house. Mario told the man he only had X amount of money. The man say [said] the fare cost more. I think we asked him where the fare can take us and he said here. We got out like on Waterloo Road at like 4am and walked home [20 minute walk]." (Excerpt from interview with respondent Z, 2015)

"The other day I got 3 different prices to go the same place from 3 companies." (Excerpt from interview with respondent D, 2015)

"The other day Lexi took a chartered taxi and there was a lady and a baby seat with a baby in it when she got here… and it seemed she was still charged full price. She said is not the first she getting that man and the same thing happened" (Excerpt from interview with respondent F, 2015)

The hackney has the strongest parallels to public transport in developed countries and is one of the more formal modes of transport. Hackney vehicles belong to registered, tax-paying companies and workers are protected by the state. Despite this, the preceding accounts reveal very informal practices which take place within this form of transport. The story of being left by a hackney on the roadside at night parallels the earlier story of robot users being left on the roadside. The common practice of chartered taxis being shared with drivers' family members is yet another departure from the purported formality of the system.

<u>The Minibus</u>

My first true encounter with a minibus was at the age of 12. Prior to this point I had the luxury of being dropped off and

picked up by parents or other adults in private vehicles. I was introduced to the formal bus system by my older brother, and taxis by my grandmother but never had the pleasure of traveling in a minibus. One day I had to get to a quiz practice and no one could take me. My friend who used all modes and the minibus especially as her primary means of transport, offered to meet me in the main transport hub and for us to travel together to the practice. I was buzzing with anticipation. Finally! After waiting a lifetime I would get to travel like a grown-up. In my mind, it was only adults, real down-to-earth adults who travelled via minibus. We met and took the government regulated JUTC to another transport hub. The great, Crossroads. This too was a first. Never before had I been at Crossroads without parental supervision. Never mind that is was dangerous for naïve "uptown" girls like me to be there, I was so happy. My friend was most comfortable with the space, after all she walked through the food stalls and shoe displays twice daily in her commute to school and back. We bobbed and weave, whispering "sorry miss" if we stepped on someone accidently or if they stepped on us. I had no idea where we were going but I knew the minibus was coming. Through the market, pass the Island Grill and KFC, over the gutter and there it was. Studio One Boulevard, the unofficial depot for minibuses traveling from Cross Roads to Waterhouse. It was years later I learned that they parked there illegally and were often ticketed when caught by the authorities. At risk of sounding like I have romanticised this aspect of the Jamaican life I will say, it was a different world! Everything had come alive. Three or four men rushed to us shouting "skoolaz, skoolaz, mi hav a seat roun a back fi yuh" (school children, we have seats in the back of the bus for you) trying to coerce us into their vehicles. Again I would learn later on that school children often requested seats in the back so they could be naughty out of the adults line-of-sight. While the men

approached us, the drivers honked their horns to get the attention of others. On the other side of the buses along the side-walk there was a large entertainment system blasting music. Men were standing by with cups of Jamaican rum in their hands, dancing and drinking. There were card and board games in action which I soon found out were scams, or ways of gambling, or a combination of both. I noticed my friend kept her head down, approached the bus at the front of the queue and sat closer to the front, near the door. I tried to follow suit when I wasn't gaping at all the new sights, making it obvious that I was new to the space. While the vibrancy and life at depot attracted me, it was that first mini-bus journey that sealed my heart. The vehicle started up when the driver, conductor and loader were all satisfied that enough of us had been crammed in. Without warning it sped off. The conductor and driver were in sync however, because although the door was still open, and the conductor was hanging halfway outside, he still managed to remain in the vehicle as it turned that first deep corner and dodged the pot hole immediately after. I didn't have any past experience that I could justly correlate this ride with. A trip to Disney world a few years later was the first time I had a similar experience with which to associate the minibus ride. It was a roller coaster! It was several roller coasters in one! It was fast, it was nimble, if you risked looking out you saw the near misses and angry drivers swishing by, passengers often moved from one end of the carriage to the other, the feeling of nausea swept over, and the sudden stops and starts capped the experience. When we got to our stop my friend shouted "corner stop driver" and immediately we screeched to a halt (yes on the corner, bring the traffic flow to a standstill). We handed over our "Skoolaz" fares and disembarked. Completely enamoured I walked behind my friend until we got to our destination fantasising about the next time we would meet again. (Personal Vignette, 2015)

Parke (2014) and Clarke (2013) give their accounts of similarly memorable minibus trips.

> Once I sat at the back of a mini bus that was going on a long journey, but I was just going down the road on a short journey. When I stopped the bus, the people in front did not want to unload the bus so I could get off. They thought it was too much hassle. The passengers asked me to jump through the rear window. The lady in front of me shouted "me not moving a rass". The driver and conductor agreed. So I had to jump through the rear window, which required some acrobatics (Parke 2014).

> I am not trying to shoot a hole in the pockets of bus and taxi operators. However, just imagine for a while having to sit between two seats on a vehicle travelling for one and a half hours. Or imagine having to be leaning to one side, adding to your discomfort in order to have use of your legs upon exiting the vehicle because the person sitting in front of you, at no fault of his own, has to sit in such a way that all his body weight is resting on you. This is the reality of persons travelling on routes such as Spanish Town to Mandeville or Ocho Rios to Spanish Town, where a seat meant for one passenger has to be shared, whether you want to or not. In addition, the full fare is expected, even from children under 12 years of age. To add to this situation, the conductors are so impatient, rude and disrespectful that one better not try to question or put up any resistance to this arrangement which has, over time, become the status quo of public travelling. It is not as if one cannot understand the harsh reality of our economic situation or the dilemma that these operators have to deal with, bearing in mind the fact that petrol prices have really skyrocketed in recent times (Clarke 2013).

Parke's experience is described with words such as "fast" and "exciting". His account mirrors mine in relation to the emotional responses to such a different system. Clarke leaves a different impression. His story includes terms such as "body weight resting on you" and "conductors are impatient, rude and disrespectful." These three accounts are of the same system. Although we had similar experiences our reports gave different representations. This further exemplifies the moral complexity of the transport system which will be elaborated on in the following chapter. Additionally, Clarke's account links informal economic activities with broader regulatory frameworks (even on a global scale) such as the price of oil.

The Coaster

The following is another personal reflection of a memorable moment while taking a coaster to school.

Class began at 8am. The lecturer gave a 10 minute grace period understanding that no university student was awake and functioning so early in the morning. I had every intention of taking the JUTC number 72 which would take me to the right suburb on time. At 7:20 however I realise that would not be possible. Not only was there no bus in sight, I knew they delays of the system would result in me being late. Temptingly, my love passed by. It didn't so much stop as it slowed allowing the conductor to shout the route, "Molynes, Halfway Tree, Liguanea, UC Campus". I considered for only a second before jumping in. "Rock ova rock ova," The other passengers were instructed to make room for me to sit, increasing the number of people in our row to five (in a row made to seat three). Off we went. As expected with a coaster, it went from bus lane to regular traffic lane as it suited, stopping only for passengers or when it was absolutely impossible to proceed. The ride was like any other, fast, dizzying and illegal in many ways. We had just gone through another red traffic light when the driver of a coaster coming from the opposite direction warned our driver that the dreaded police and Transport Authority were doing checks nearby. Although we were so close to my destination, the driver of our coaster must have decided that he better not risk it. He swiftly did a U-turn and went on the longest detour I had ever experienced. We met a traffic jam on the other side of town before we were able to approach the campus from a different direction. I quickly disembarked but not before I heard the grouses of those who needed to stop along the route that was abandoned. (Personal vignette, 2015)

The account shows a few inconsistencies with the formal-informal dichotomy. I state that "there was no bus in sight" and I knew that "the delays in the system would make me late". I was confident that the "formal" system would have failed to meet my expectations. Additionally, my account displays the

frequent regulation of these "informal" systems, making reference to police and transport authority checks.

Additional factors to consider

Collectively the above accounts have indicated how I and my respondents experience the various modes of transport in the system. The reports indicate a significant intertwining of formality and informality in practice. For the remainder of this section I will draw on discussions found in the media to further our understanding of the lived experience of the transport system.

Recent newspaper articles address major issues relating to the informal-formal dichotomy of the public transport system. They report complaints by; workers within the system, passengers of the various modes of transport, and onlookers.

Disgust versus attraction

One recent newspaper article highlights the naughty actions of students on minibuses. On December 5, 2015, the *Jamaica Gleaner* published an article "Major slackness on a minibus - students still lapping up and getting down on corporate area buses". The article says;

> Despite repeated threats from the Transport Authority and the police, the age-old problem of unruly students, bawdy behaviour, and vulgar displays on public passenger buses in the Corporate Area persist…Drivers [conductors] and loader men continue to cram bodies into every available space. Schoolgirls continue to find seats on the laps of schoolboys ('lapped up'), and the most lewd dance hall songs are the favourites, blasting uninterrupted from the speakers…Ann-Marie was among only five adult passengers in the bus, which zigzagged its way through traffic with close to 30 passengers, although it was licensed to carry 18…The adults … discomfort was clear from the way they gripped unto the seats before them, remaining stoic as uniformed students sang the lewd tunes unreservedly…There were at least six students sitting on the backseat, with the girls in the laps of the boys, while other girls in other seats also opted for the laps of the boys. (Jamaica Observer 2015)

This article also clearly shows that there are activities in some forms of transport which disgust some commuters but serve as an attraction to others. This

suggests moral evaluation of transport which will be discussed more in depth in the next chapter.

Unprotected workers

A major issue which newspapers have recently highlighted is the lack of protection by the state for workers in the system. Route taxis, robots, minibuses and coasters are usually driven by hired hands. Vehicle owners demand a certain profit each day and leave the remainder of the profit to the driver. Drivers therefore tend to drive fast and recklessly so they can transport as many people as possible. In the *Jamaica Gleaner* article published April 10, 2016, the journalist looks at "Rough And Unruly Riders [that] Haunt Private Bus Operators As JUTC Scales Back Help To Collect Fares". The article reveals that there has been trouble since the Transport Authority has scaled back its assistance in helping drivers and conductors to collect full fares from passengers. Drivers indicate that they lose money if the agreed fees are not handed over after a full day's work. "It must impact my pay. The boss tells us that him want $10,000 but the people them refuse to pay so much, and at the end of the day we bring him $8,000. It is we who have to do without pay just to keep our jobs," said bus driver Barrington Welsh. "My bus seated to carry about 16 passengers and if they pay their $100 that would be $1,600, but right now, you carry a full load come town from Waterhouse, you let off and take up, you just a make about $700 or $800, and that can't work," added Kedron Marriott, the driver of a minibus plying the Waterhouse to downtown route (Robinson 2016). This article also contributes to the argument of the intertwining rather than separation of the formal/informal dichotomy. Minibuses (informal mode) were supported by the JUTC (formal mode) with the collection of fares.

Fatal transport

The biggest issue with the public transport system in Jamaica is the danger to lives. Within this vibrant and dynamic system runs the constant threat of death. The two major newspapers in Jamaica, the *Jamaica Gleaner* and the *Jamaica Observer* have headings such as; "Coaster bus driver dies in St. Mary crash." "Students injured in bus crash" "Garvey Maceo students injured after minibus

overturns" "Ten injured in Lawrence tavern crash" "Suspect held for bus shooting". These are but some of the headlines that Jamaicans read frequently. Although these fatal accidents occur more frequently with "informal" modes of transport, JUTC buses have had their fair share of calamities. This shows that both "informal" and "formal" modes of transport share similar issues, again highlighting that intertwining of formality and informality in real life. The following is the opening paragraph of a newspaper report from August 2015.

> It has been days since slipper vendor Delroy Roberts was crushed to death by a Jamaica Urban Transit Company (JUTC) bus at West Parade in downtown Kingston, and still his elderly mother, Hyacinth Graham, sits on her veranda each evening awaiting her son's return home.

Representation

Jamaica's public transport system has journeyed off our roads and into popular culture. Television shows, dancehall and reggae music, comedy acts, poems and theatre pantomimes have all featured the system. The fine arts also express aspects of this system as there are paintings and drawings of aspects of the transport system.

The Jamaica pantomime is an annual theatrical show which displays the culture of Jamaica with dramatic yet humorous staging. Since its inception in 1941 it has produced exceptional acts. In 1991 the theme of the pantomime was, "Mi yu' an mi taxi [me, you and my taxi]. Famous Jamaican actor, Oliver Samuels, starred as a taxi driver, revealing the daily experiences of workers in the transport system.

Cabbie Chronicles is another example of the transport system in popular culture. It is an animated comedy series which takes place in a taxi on Jamaican streets. This cartoon provides roughly ten minutes of stereotypical conversations and personalities found in a taxi on a daily basis. The intro song begins as,

> mi seh 1,2,3, [I say 1,2,3]
>
> mi deh pon a journey, [I am on a journey]
>
> from cross roads to halfway tree
>
> him carry passenger from point A to point B,
>
> an wen di money dun dem affi pay di [and when the journey is done they have to pay the money] (Latchman 2012)

Reggae artist, General Trees, got international acclaim for his song about the system, which was released in 1986. While some things have changed, many have remained the same. Below is an excerpt from his song.

[Chorus:]
Mini-van people gone to Jamaica
One driver a dozen conductor
Yeah! mini-van people gone to Jamaica
One driver a dozen conductor tree!
Where have all the jolly bus gone long time ago
Where have all the jolly bus gone I I I don't know hey

[Verse 2:]
Now mi lef from work with one intention
Mi fi ketch a mini-van and go to Portland
I will need rest from midday come three young woman
One a hold on mi shirt and one a hold on pon mi hand
Mi haffi put down mi bag and stand up as a man
And tek di conductor dem my position
One a go a Westmoreland and one a go a St Ann
But my destination is to Portland
Give thanks to di mini-bus association
Who set di jolly business out a action (Trees 2007)

Representation of the Jamaican transport system in the visual and performing arts in Jamaica is not new. Poems and songs from as early as the 1950s can be found. Recently however, the mini-bus and taxi cab have become the setting for events in popular culture. Specific events then are highlighted, with the presumption that the transport system is a good representation of the Jamaican life. The transport system has changed from being the means of getting from one place to the next, to being the backdrop of the typical day in Jamaica. The transport system is public in nature. It is a shared space wherein all Jamaicans produce meaning. We are able to individually and collectively negotiate matters of our identity in this public space.

Newspaper articles, personal vignettes and accounts of respondents all reveal, that the public transport system is not experienced according to the strict formal-informal dichotomy as it is structured. Aspects of the system express the characteristics of the informal economy as identified by theorists. So too is the nature of the relationship between the informal economy and wider socio-political system exemplified in the transport sector. However, the experiences of the people indicate a more complex situation. Formal modes seem to have informal aspects to them, and informal modes seem to have formal characteristics. The following chapter will explore formality and informality as categories subject to moral evaluation rather than as structures of simple demarcations. Set as distinct and sometimes opposing moral systems in Caribbean theories of identity, the informality/formality construct does not seem to match reality. By looking at regulation, choice and representation in the mobility landscape, the next chapter will decipher what the decisions made in the public transport system, by individuals and the state, tell about our identity.

Living thirty-eight kilometres from the university where I did my undergraduate studies meant it was a hassle to commute daily. On the days I was unfortunate enough to be left at home by the car owners of my family, due to my tardiness, I was forced to commute. This journey involved three different modes of public transport. From the taxi stand at the front of my community, I would take the first "suitable" route taxi driving towards the town centre, by which I mean suitable according to my personal preference. Many route taxis and robots travel along that corridor. The large number of taxis means that the wait time is very short. The JUTC bus only passes by four times a day; at 6am and 6.30am then again at 7pm and 7:45pm. These buses are also expensive since they drive directly to the main transport centre in St. Andrew eliminating the need to transfer vehicles. The route taxi would drive six kilometres to the taxi depot in the heart of Spanish Town. At this point I had two options; choose the JUTC buses that are scheduled and parked right next to the taxi depot, or walk for five minutes and hope to find a coaster bus almost packed and ready for its journey. This would always be a gamble. There would be no guarantee that a coaster would be ready for departure since that is dependent on the number of passengers aboard. The coaster would race itself or another coaster trying to reach prospective passengers first for the twenty-one kilometres to Half Way Tree. Once in Half Way Tree, again I had the option of another coaster, a JUTC bus or a route taxi. I would usually take the route taxi for the remaining nine kilometres as they went directly to the university gate I preferred. (Personal Vignette)

The journey I just described is not a unique one and many Jamaicans experience similar journeys on a daily basis. They move from one mode of transport to the next, seamlessly transitioning between the formal and informal transport system to get from their point of departure to their destination. This just exemplifies what the theories of economists and anthropologists revealed; the categories of informal and formal are not clear cut in practice. Other examples of the blurred boundaries between formality and informality in the transport system are highlighted below.

Informal public transport, although unregulated and unprotected by the government, is structured. A clear indication of this is its mechanism for self-regulation. Lewis (2015) identifies a similar phenomenon among craft vendors (also participants in the Jamaican informal economy). Lewis (2015) looked at the competition for sales among craft vendors in the tourist area of Montego Bay, Jamaica. His work describes how vendors perceive overly competitive actions of their fellow traders as breaches of a moral code; as signs of animosity. They attribute their own lack of prosperity and the conditions that cause this, to a chronic black Jamaican disunity inherited from slavery (Lewis 2015). To regulate perceived breaches on the part of others they draw on the Jamaican concept of 'bad-mind'.

Bad-mind is; "a slang expression used to describe someone who is jealous of others and is constantly being a critic of other people's life. This person is extremely envious of the success of others, wishing/plotting for their downfall or failure" (Patois and Slang Dictionary 2013, 14). To be labelled bad-mind is a terrible thing. It is the Jamaican's way of ostracising a member from a group. Lewis (2015) noted that although claims of bad-mind were easily made, acts of bad-mind were hard to prove. In one example a small local wholesale operator complained that the vendors seldom bought from her and did not want to "build" her up. She insisted they were bad-minding her because "they don't want to see other black people do well." (Lewis 2015).

Within the informal transport system a similar mechanism for regulation exists. Drivers shun notorious non-payers or short-changers and inform their co-workers to protect them from theft. Amongst the drivers as well, bad mind exists

as a form of self-regulation. Drivers are kept "in line" as they are aware that overly competitive strategies may be perceived as a sign of animosity and other drivers will attribute their own economic failings to them. Informal mechanisms of control operate among workers and passengers alike to bring some form of regulation to the transport system. This demonstrates the mixing of informality and formality and calls into question who is regulating the transport system and on what basis.

The story of the blind man on the JUTC bus and the passengers' response - that was relayed by respondent S (2015) and presented earlier in this thesis, also shows a formal system intertwined with informality. Passenger expectations conflicted as both formal and informal understandings coexisted. This chapter will build on these two examples and what was demonstrated in the previous chapter. Altogether they introduce the idea of morality as a component of regulation in terms of choice and action in the transport system. The ethnographic material indicates that a mixing occurs in the choices people make and the values that influence those choices. This disrupts both a simple "top-down" model of control and also the dichotomous approach to formality vs. informality. That is not to denounce the role of the state in all of this, as will be revealed in the following section.

Movement in context

Analysis of the Jamaican transport system show it to display characteristics of the informal economy. As such, it sheds light on the relationship between the informal economy and the state, and seems to be organised as a formal/informal dichotomy. However, the examples from the previous chapter show that formal/informal dichotomy is not experienced in such a clear- cut way in practice. This leaves us wondering how to understand the system of mobility in the Jamaican context.

Cresswell (2010) contends that to understand a system of mobility three entangled aspects must be understood: (1) physical movement, which is getting from one place to another, (2) representation, the shared meaning of movement and (3) practice which is experienced and embodied movement. Rink (2016) and

Clayton et al. (2016) have suggested ways to understand representation of mobility.

Rink (2016) identifies race and class as the meanings that are applied to "abstract" movement to make it mobility (the social and political meanings written into movement). He looks at the politics of mobility on one bus journey in South Africa. In his paper he highlights the influence of the past on present mobilities. During the era of segregation, mobility was another mechanism of separating and controlling populations (even as they moved). This has carried over into present-day South African society. Rink reflects on the disturbance of the established hegemony as he, a white, educated man, travelled via a form that should be inaccessible to him. He should walk or drive. That definitive, 'should', is what he explored as he embodied the political nature of mobility and the social and cultural implications of bus travel.

Clayton, et al. (2016) also look at meanings written onto movement. By studying the "ideal bus journey" their paper touches on issues of desirability and undesirability and civility and incivility. By looking at the 'ideal' and 'despised' aspects of the bus journey in UK transport system, the authors identify the role that affect plays in a system of movement. However, they start with the premise that citizens of the UK have already made a negative assessment of the bus system. They postulate that an ideal system is one which is 'pleasant'; it sits at the midpoint between a switched off, relaxed journey and a social, active experience. Carried objects (newspapers, novels, coffee, travel games, etc.) help to create this pleasant state. Their argument is that the way passengers use their travel time determines whether or not they will perceive the journey as pleasant (Clayton, Jain, and Parkhurst 2016). The authors therefore place the agency squarely on the passenger, with the bus providing a malleable structure into which the passenger inserts the "ideal journey".

Both of these studies highlight the importance of representation in the study of mobility. They explore how the collective ideas about movement can have significant impact on the experiences of it. These ideas are not connected to mobility itself, nor are they actually based in experience for the most part. Rink (2016) shared the impact of a socio-political past and the ideas it maintains today

on transport and the forms people take, while Clayton et al. (2016) shared how "unpleasant" perceptions of a form of transport can also affect who uses it and how much.

The remainder of this chapter will explore how the representations of "formal" and "informal" affect usership of the transport system in Jamaica (if they do at all). As well as where these representations come from. To do this I will explore the role of the state in making moral determinations about possible modes of transport. This will be discussed with reference to the concept of "Mobility landscapes". I will then turn to the issue of morality and individual choice in relation to mobility.

Landscape Mobility - State Legitimation

Johung (2016) explores landscape mobility, defining it as the larger context within which bodies move, respond, exchange, and cohere (such as a transport system). Discussions of mobility often focus on the role of individuals as they interact with multiple places, people, and social institutions. The investigation of landscapes of mobility also forces us to identify, "the means by which social interactions, are made visible and legitimate, thereby urging us to pay attention to the methods in which public collectives and communities are constructed" (Johung 2016, 2). Landscape mobility is concerned; (1) with the process by which movement becomes represented and (2) the assessment of those representations for individual decision making.

Flemsæter et al. (2015) have suggestions for the process by which movement comes to be represented. In Norway, they found that moral landscapes of the outdoors are part of the settling and reinforcing of social differences and existing power relations (Flemsæter, Setten, and Brown 2015). They propose that mobility in Norway is the space and context in which different groups contend to be citizens of the outdoors and entitled users of the space. The authors understand that cultural acceptance of the form of mobility is the key to entitlement. Entitlement depends the dominant representations of the character of the landscape. These are brought about through legal over-regulation of outdoor activities in Norway, which illustrates the role of the state in normalising and

stigmatising particular activities. In essence, whichever mobile activity attains legal recognition is understood to be the most appropriate, most desirable (morally good) activity.

Mobility landscapes reflect a living blend of people and place that is vital to local and national identity. The character of a landscape helps define the self-image of the people who inhabit it and the sense of place that differentiates one region from another. Johung argues that landscapes emplace humans as interconnected, dependent, and temporary communities. Within a landscape each person becomes routes moving in multiple directions, positions and locations (Johung 2016). Therefore, if mobility is understood as a landscape, then the character of the mobility landscape has implications for the self -image of the people who inhabit it. As Cresswell (2010) states, the social relations that produce and distribute power of movement, representations and practice, including the ways in which they are interrelated, vary historically. Thus, what are considered as appropriate or morally 'right' mobilities in a given temporal and geographical context also vary. Flemsæter et al. (2015) identify the state as the current controllers of the landscape in Norway.

A parallel can be found in Jamaican society. The example of minibuses and coasters required to be painted yellow is physical evidence of the acceptability and appropriateness of those two forms in relation to the state. Route taxis and robots are excluded from this. Although route taxis need to have red PPV license plates, the vehicles themselves remain white. From the brief description of the forms in the system it is evident that minibuses are more similar to route taxis than they are to JUTC buses. Despite whatever moral factors inform personal choice, the state could be said to influence representations of certain forms of movement as pleasant and some as unpleasant. This perfectly exemplifies the following quote by Flemsæter, "state actors play an important part in stabilizing, reinforcing or challenging various normativity of the right way to move in particular spaces" (Flemsæter, Setten, and Brown 2015, 347-348).

Morality – Individual Choice

I asked interviewees to rank the modes of transport based on their preference then to give reasons for identifying their favourite and least favourite, two respondents had completely opposing views of the suitability of each mode.

Respondent R said:

> ***1. JUTC (Because the fare is still the standard $100 for bus fare, and it is safe and comfortable)***
>
> ***2. Coaster Bus (Though they drive poorly, they run very good and are a good mode of transport when late)***
>
> ***3. Red Plate Taxi [route taxi] (Run just as well as coaster bus but limited routes)***
>
> ***4. El Shaddai [a hackney] (Only if I'm going long distances and it is also safe for travelling as well)***
>
> ***5. knutsford express [excluded from this study as it is a long distance public passenger service] (Only if I have enough money I will take it.)***
>
> ***6. Robo Taxi (Just not taking any illegal taxi because of safety precautions and religious beliefs. Lots of times taxi men run leave commuters when in an accident in an illegal taxi.) (Excerpt of interview with respondent R, 2015)***

Respondent J said:

> ***Chartered taxi***
>
> ***Robot taxi***
>
> ***Jutc buses***
>
> ***Chartered taxi- they are punctual and reliable – normal go exactly where you want to go.***
>
> ***JUTC – they don't have a time schedule, therefore aren't reliable. Don't necessarily go exactly where you are going (excerpt of interview with respondent J, 2015)***

The JUTC chi-chi bus was considered the best mode of transport for respondent R but it was considered the worst for respondent J. This suggests that the choices they made were influenced by different factors that we can label as 'moral' in a general sense.

There has been debate in anthropology about the nature of morality, particularly whether we might best consider it a product or process. Guyer (2004) contends that morality is an independent process within the economy. It is that process of negotiation and formulation of the value system that stands outside of the economy, but that in turn informs decisions made within the economy. Knauft (2007) asserts that morality is a product. It is a result of conflict and contradictions within the economy. Humphrey (1996) argues that morality is both product and process; the evaluation of qualities and result of that evaluation.

Guyer (2004) suggests that the assignment of values (morality) is a social process. Through a study of class difference in Cameroon and Nigeria she suggests that market values may be understood not simply as momentary quantitative indicators or measurements of opportunity costs, but as social processes in which people continually assess present circumstances and options in terms of their understandings of the past (Guyer 2004). She uses clear examples to bring this point across. Two examples she uses are the strategies households use to allocate spare cash, and the ways petrol station workers decide who to serve first during a fuel shortage (considering respect, seniority and fairness). Similarly, within the Jamaican transport system there are daily social processes in which people (commuters and onlookers) assess options in terms of their understandings of the past and present. The social processes involved in the assessment of circumstances is one concept of morality.

Knauft (2007) purports that morality is the product of conflict. Still closely related to an assessment of circumstances, he puts forward that in times of dilemmas, conflicts and confrontations, ethical assumptions are tested, affirmed or changed. The biggest difference in the definitions is that Knauft sees morality as a product of conflict, not as a process as Guyer understands it. Knauft (2007) notices this conflict in Melanesian society between reciprocal obligation and individualism. In matters of money and consumerism two major ways of engaging

in the economic system are with activities that support an egalitarian, united society or activities that support an individual, stratified society. Those operating within these systems perceive themselves to be good and the opponent evil. Each individual is forced to determine which direction he or she will go. The result is an indication of their moral system.

Humphrey (1996) defines morality as, "the evaluation of conduct in relation to esteemed or despised human qualities" (Humphrey 1996, 25). She points out that there is no single term in the Mongolian language that corresponds to the Western concept of morality. Instead, she finds that in the Mongolian context there are a range of exemplars to good behaviour that individuals choose for themselves. The most common type of exemplars are sayings from famous personages- either historical, legendary or contemporary. Humphrey's analysis observes morality as both the product and process of choosing "good behaviour" for oneself. The definition includes both the process of and product of analysis.

The individual, unpredictable nature by which users of the transport system select the modes of transport supports Humphrey's definition. Morality is a system of evaluation and consequent action, built with reference to a range of esteemed and despised human qualities as outlined above as such it is both process and product. On the one hand, there are users of the system who negotiate the "goodness" of certain courses of action while experiencing them. This is what respondent J indicated in his response, suggesting morality as a product of experience. On the other hand, users such as respondent R rely on pre-existing values to determine actions. Respondent R highlighted her religious beliefs as one of the reasons the robot is her least favourite. This shows morality as a process applicable to a range of activities, not dependent on contextual variation.

In summary, the Jamaican public transport system includes the vehicles, users and representations (shared meanings). As a landscape it provides a public space for Jamaicans to interact and collectively negotiate not just the meaning of informality but also our identity. The state plays a major role in conveying to the citizens what aspects of the transport system it esteems and of which it disapproves. Despite these qualifications, anthropologists of morality have indicated that such estimations are not always accepted by all members of a

group. Morality, as an independent process applicable to a range of activities, as well as the product of experience, is evident in the way Jamaicans, independently of the state, choose how to engage with the public transport system in the KMR.

CONCLUSION

This thesis started with an exploration of the major theories of Jamaican/ Caribbean identity (creolisation theory, plantation society theory and plural society theory), and presented evidence from the informal transport sector, to determine whether or not the transport system supports their models of our identity. By defining and characterising the informal economy in light of the lived experience of the transport system, this thesis focussed on issues of morality and explored the role morality plays in economic activities and how this often defies or eludes structural distinctions between formal and informal. Altogether the research revealed that the theories of identity collectively present the ideas that; dominant western structures subjugate 'indigenous' ones; there is interdependence rather than separation of the formal and informal economies and; different groupings - ethnic or socio-economic - are associated with different economic activities.

The chapter on informality explored the definition and characteristics of the informal economy using aspects of the Jamaican transport system as an example. It revealed that the informal economy is the set of economic activities including but not limited to self-employment which are heavily embedded in the social relations of exchange and are not protected by the state. Statistics revealed that in 2001 the informal economy in Jamaica accounted for 43% of the overall GDP (Roble et al. 2006). It is a significant component of the Jamaican economy. The informal transport system is just one activity within that large informal economy. Among other characteristics explored, this paper showed that the formal economy and the informal economy are intertwined. One argument used to support that, was the constriction of one resulting in growth in the other. The section on the informal economy also revealed the close relationship between it and other socio-political structures of society. One example was that changes from communism to socialism or capitalism in Eastern Europe resulted in an expansion of the informal economy.

The study of morality within the Jamaican public transport system focused on two key enquiries: the reason that modes of transport are categorised as informal or formal despite blurred lines and demarcations unrecognised by

passengers, and what influences each passenger when choosing which mode to use. We saw that, daily, the choice is both the process and product of analysis of which characteristics in each form are esteemed or despised (Humphrey 1996). This comes from an internal negotiation with the group moral system and individual preference. It also revealed that despite whatever factors inform personal choice, the state overtly represents forms of movement as formal and informal, validating some and demonizing others.

This paper outlined the major theories of Jamaican and Caribbean identity and wrestled with whether or not they individually or collectively supply a true picture of our identity. The section on morality introduced the idea of the transport system in Jamaica as a landscape. Johung (2016) says that a landscape reveals an identity by bringing together ideas of memory and place. Memory and place, through landscape, provide a site where conflicts between local, national and global influences are played out; thereby producing an image of identity. She goes on to say,

> "Such a theoretical scheme can also be seen as providing an alternative way of studying… national senses of identity as phenomena… This re-establishes an aspect of social anthropology that integrated earlier community-based approaches with political change, national identity, historical influences, and similar factors" (Johung 2016, 4).

The transport system then, provides a space at the local level for broader historical and political factors to be assessed over time and through place to establish a sense of the Jamaican identity as it is perceived by her people.

While exploring the major points that have emerged from this paper concerning informality and mobility in public transport, I have provided a critique on the already established creolisation, plural society and planation society models. Writings on morality, mobility and the informal economy, as well as the ethnographic example of the public transport system, show that many of their underlying assumptions are displayed in the lived reality of Jamaican people. However, they ignore the agency and resilience of the Jamaican people against deterministic structures. The remainder of this paper brings together the assessment of each of the key themes common to the three models.

Formal and Informal Interdependence

As Fischer (2014) suggests, economic activities first emerge out of need and then are regulated. This forces the majority of new economic activities to conform to any new regulations. As the sector conforms, outliers are left maintaining what we know as the informal economy. Although Fischer (2014) spoke in reference to sharing economies, the concept applies to other informal economies. Within the economy there will always be innovation to meet needs. This suggests that (1) the formal system cannot meet all the needs of the people in a society, and (2) regulation and standardisation will never encompass all activities. This leaves informal economic activities to fill the gaps that formal economic activities leave. This allows the formal to appear dominant and encompassing, rather than interdependent.

The example Olwig (1999) gives of the practice of allotting slaves provision grounds for self-sustenance is a good example of this. Providing food for the slaves cut significantly into the planters profits. The formal economy was unable to sustain the practice. By allowing the slaves to develop their own subsistence economy, the planters unintentionally enabled the slaves to create a place of their own where they might develop social and economic ties with one another. As mentioned previously, the slaves spent an increasing amount of their time in these communities, sometimes even staying in small huts that they had built themselves. Olwig's example supports the idea that our socio-political identity mirrors the plantation system. This is a tiered socio-economic class structure, with an economy that relies heavily on the products of the plantation for engagement with the global market while having a sub-economy which sustains workers of the plantation.

Given the low ratio of registered vehicles to population in Jamaica there is a high dependence on the public transport system. The Transport Authority's annual report showed the number of licences issued during the 2014-2015 fiscal year was fifty-two thousand. Of these, Public Passenger Vehicle Road Licences account for 38%. Again within the transport system, we see that formal activities are incapable of sustaining the economy. The informal public transport fills that gap. Further gaps in the capacity of the formal economy are revealed when we take into account the size of the entire informal economy. The Jamaican informal

economy accounts for 43% of the overall GDP. Without the informal economy Jamaica's economy would drop to near 60% of the current GDP. The interdependence is so established that one could say that a single economy exists in Jamaica that has formal and informal aspects to it.

The interdependence of these purportedly separate realms is further exemplified by the influence the informal economy has on regulation and other aspects of formality. Fischer (2014), in his assessment of sharing economies (one aspect of informal economies), also speaks of the formalisation and regulation of previously informal activities. Again public transport in Jamaica exemplifies this. The 2014 decree that minibuses in the KMR be painted yellow was just one of the measures taken to bring the informal public transport system to order. Over the years the government has regulated the drivers within the system (with uniforms, licences and tags), the presentation of the buses, and the number of passengers in each vehicle. This demonstrates Fischer's (2014) idea that formal activities start informally but attract scrutiny from the state which leads to regulation.

The example of the recent regulation of minibuses and coasters also links with the issue of morality. Knauft (2007) focuses on dilemmas, conflicts and confrontations in situations in which moral assumptions are tested, affirmed or changed. He postulates that moral conventions are subject to modification or abandonment. The informal public transport system is the perfect example of this modification through confrontation. The Jamaican government is constantly adjusting road traffic laws and the transport authority alters its regulations in response to moral confrontations. Greater regulation of the system then, shows the transformative power of moral conflict.

Group Association

Another recurring theme in the discourse of Jamaican/ Caribbean identity, is that we are different groups of people participating in different economic activities that suit each group. These groups are socio-economic in some theories and ethnic in others. This theme corresponds with Eriksen's (2012) ideas of economic studies. He states that (1) cultural differences exist and (2) the differences may be the result of structural factors. Groups possess certain cultural

resources (by choice or by force) that make its members ‘well qualified’ to do certain economic activities.

The plural society model by M.G. Smith (1974) identifies multiple socio-cultural groups in the Jamaican society and asserts that we find our identity in this plurality. The groups are exclusive, impenetrable, institutional, cultural, and moral orders. The groups are more coherent within themselves than with each other. They are held together by regulations, which represent the exercise of power or force by the dominant group over the subordinate ones. Plural societies therefore refer to the coexistence of parallel but incompatible institutions in a recognized political state. Whatever economic activities emerge from the groups that are not in power and are also not fully validated by the group in power will be made second class or informal.

It is quite easy then to see how the Jamaican informal public transport system fits in this idea of different entities co-existing and how one set of activities may be relegated to informal status based on the power of other groups in control. In Jamaican society, the culture of the elites is the culture of power and still largely a European one. Government structure, international trade, and social division, are all informed by Western ideology. However, there is the Jamaican informal transport system that is largely non-European and has been re-interpreted to be non-Western, and therefore has been relegated to an informal status by those in power. This is most obvious when contrasted with the formal transport system (JUTC and hackneys) which has greater similarities with transport systems in developed Western countries than the other local modes do. Some of these are; employee contracts, cashless buses, bus lanes, timetables and digitized transport hubs.

As discussed in the description of the system, there are certain characteristics of the workers and users of the system that identify them as belonging to key groups. The largest group is workers who identify as Afro-Caribbean men. Although Jamaica boasts the motto “out of many, one people” within this system the many are not seen. The Asian and Caucasian members of our society do not usually work in this system neither are they users. Within the system there is also a division of passengers. As described previously, JUTC and

hackneys are for “uptown” (middle class) passengers, while minibuses, coasters, route taxis and robots are for everyone else.

The chapter on morality and mobility also provides the answer of plurality in response to decisions about which mode of transport to use or whether to participate in the system as a worker. Braten (2013) tells us that economic forms are not innate expressions of market rationalities or efficiencies, but are the result of complex, socially embedded, group ideas. The author showed that there are close ties between social groups and economic actions. Like all interpersonal engagements, participating in market transactions requires a social understanding and personal negotiation of meaning. Although decisions regarding participation are personal, they are heavily influenced by the social group to which you belong (be it ethnicity, like the Afro-Caribbean workers in the system or socio-economic class like the users of hackneys). Braten (2013) says worth flows between market and non-market spaces. That worth transfer helps explain the social bedding of markets and that they can only be grasped in light of the cultural meanings that inform them.

Altogether, global theories about the informal economy and morality seem to support the Caribbean theories of identity which identify that each different group in the society tends towards distinctive economic activities. The public transport system further supports this theory.

Western Domination

The three major Caribbean theories of identity being explored, recognise the elite class as the sector of society that keeps all sectors together as well as being the vehicle of oppression and subjugation. The previous chapter on morality in mobility which drew from the contributions of Flemsæter et al. (2015) supports this view. They suggest that in Norway moral landscapes of the outdoors are part of the settling and reinforcing of social differences and existing power relations. Legal over- regulation of outdoor activities in Norway indicates that the legal system/the state has ultimate power in normalising activities. The right to use the space is sanctioned by the political system in that whichever mobile activity attains legal recognition is understood to be the most appropriate and most

desirable (ie. morally good). Implied in this is that the reverse is true; whatever forms do not gain legal representation are somehow immoral. A parallel of this was also explored in the previous chapter. It highlighted the regulations which have been recently effected and the way they demonise/subjugate forms of transport which are excluded from the regulations; forms such as route taxis and robots.

In the section on the informal economy, the paper explored other ways in which subjugation is experienced. One characteristic of the informal economy is that it is highly stigmatized. Marcelli (2009) explains that in the former Soviet Union informal activities are associated with dishonest and criminal ways of making money. The same association in Eastern Europe can be found in Jamaica. In the description of the system, we explored how public transportation workers are disrespected and treated as unequal users of the road by private vehicle owners and even public passengers. Words like "taxi bwoy" show that drivers are not perceived as equal but lesser than workers in other enterprises.

This thesis also explored parallels of that subjugation through stigmatization within other informal economic activities. Brown-Glaude (2011) explains that public representations of higglers and their bodies reveal how Jamaicans conceptualise race, class, and gender. She says stories about lower-class black womanhood are written on higglers' bodies by the wider society, which often sees higglers as vulgar, unfeminine, and contaminating (Brown-Glaude 2011). Public discourses about higglers [and taxi/ bus drivers] help legitimize the ways in which the state attempts to discipline them. These views of workers in the system seem to perpetuate the ideas of class differences and conflict which are almost overwhelmingly present in theories of identity. They also reinforce the linkages between state regulation and public perception, suggested also by Flemsaeter et al (2015).

The Agency of the Jamaican people in perpetuating informality

While this thesis has provided examples from the transport system which support the three themes that emerged from the dominant theories of national identity in Jamaica, it has also revealed one major problem. The theories do not

account for the agency and resilience of the Jamaican people. All three tend to focus on structures and deterministic forces which dictate how life is experienced and interpret those as clues to how we perceive our identity. However, in each of the themes explored in this section there is push-back by the people. Amidst conflicting moralities and the legitimation of only some forms of transport by the state, we see persistence on the part of the Jamaican people in using modes which are "immoral"/ informal. People continue to use robots to get to their destination or use a combination of informal and formal modes in one journey.

Additionally this exposes the fact that morality is attached to individual action rather than imposed structure. Informal/formal structuring does not easily map onto a moral dichotomy. This reflects Guyer's assessment of morality and economic activity. She argues against neoclassical anthropology's propensity to have a single view of economics and instead suggests that market values may be understood not simply as momentary quantitative indicators or measurements of opportunity costs, but as social processes in which people continually assess present circumstances and options in terms of their understandings of the past (Guyer 2004). Browne-Glaude (2011) also found an example of this in the informal economic activity she studied. She said that higglers actively reproduce and contest existing hierarchies of power as they struggle to survive. They challenge ideas of being worthless and "out of order" by successfully engaging in the economy.

The theories, memories and contributions of respondents have all come together to suggest that, the informal economy persists beyond the subjugation by dominant Western structures, the group moralities/ socialities to which we belong, and the other structural forces that are at play. This speaks to the agency of the Jamaican people.

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APPENDIX

Below is the list of questions interviewees originally responded to

I. Please give an account of the last time you used public transport. It can be as detailed as you wish. Some aspects you might want to include are: what sort of vehicle you used; where you went; whether this was a planned, a regular, or a last minute journey; how comfortable you felt. But the details are up to you.

II. How long ago was this?

III. Do you use this mode of transport often?

IV. Do you use this mode because you need to or because you want to?

V. Do you use other ways to get around?

VI. Can you list the different types of public transport you are aware of?

VII. Would you identify any as being the worst or best? If yes, what are they and what reasons do you have for this ranking?

VIII. Choose any three of the following and tell what mode you would recommend they use and why

- Children
- Tourists
- The elderly
- Women
- Travellers at night-time

IX. Should Jamaica move to a completely formalized transport system? Why? (ie. Have only JUTC buses)

X. How old are you

XI. Are you male or female

XII. Do you have access to a private vehicle